JPRS 80439

30 March 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1993

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80439

30 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1993

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Warsaw Pact's New Tracked, Multipurpose Vehicle Described
(MILITAERTECHNIK, No 1, 1982).......................... 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Trade Union Leader Encourages Open Criticism
(Vaclav Bezel Interview; SVET PRACE, Jan 82).......... 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'Independence'For Trade Unions Rejected, Party Ties Stressed
(INFORMATIONEN, Jan 82; EINHEIT, Jan 82)................ 10

West German Commentary
SED Functionary's Discussion

Literary Proof Seen For 'German Socialist Nation's Cultural Identity'
(EINHEIT, Jan 82) 20

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT'Articles
(EINHEIT, Jan 82) 29

January 1982 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Brigitte Hering; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 Jan 82)......... 33

Preparations for 1983 Luther Festivities Reported
(PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, 2 Feb 82)..................... 35

POLAND

38

Briefs
Jaskiernia in FRG 38

YUGOSLAVIA

Crnobrnja Urges More Democracy in Party
(Bogdan Crnobrnja Interview; VJESNIK, 27 Feb 82) 39

Arguments Over Nomination Lists for Elections Analyzed
(Milan Milosevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 14 Feb 82) .. 46

Suvar Defends Krleza Against Critics
(Stipe Suvar; VJESNIK, 20 Feb 82) 53

Croatian Official Discusses Dissidents in Media
(Milan Rakas; VJESNIK, 28 Feb 82) 57

Kosovo Internal Affairs Secretary Interviewed
(Mehmet Malici Interview; ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 9 Feb 82) ... 66

Problem of Aging Population Analyzed
(Zarko Vukovic; KOMUNA, Jan 82) 76

WARSAW PACT'S NEW TRACKED, MULTIPURPOSE VEHICLE DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1982 (signed to press 12 Nov 81) inside front and back covers

[Unattributed report: "MTP -LB, Technical Support Vehicle"]

[Text] The amphibious multipurpose tow and transport vehicle MT-LB is used in the Soviet army and in the armies of other Warsaw Pact nations. In addition to being a tow and transport vehicle, it also serves as base vehicle for various weapons and equipment. In the NVA, the MT-LB is used as tow, reconnaissance and guide vehicle in various branches of service and services. On the base of the MT-LB, a technical support vehicle by the name of MTP-LB was developed, which is used to aid the regiments and companies equipped with armored personnel carriers, armored vehicles and MT-LB's.

Depending on how it is equipped, the MTP-LB can pull out APC's, armored vehicles and MT-LB's either by direct pull or with the cable winch and can tow them in the terrain or on roads with tow cables or with the towing device.

In addition, it can rescue amphibious armored vehicles from water obstacles.

The MTP-LB is equipped with tools, sets of special tools and appliances, replacement parts and expendable material. This equipment is designed for simple technical maintenance and repair work.

For maintenance and repair, components weighing up to 1,500 kg can be moved with the attached crane. Gas welding and gas cutting work can be carried out on steel and aluminum parts.

The fully equipped MTP-LB weighs 12,300 kg. It is 6,800 mm long, 2,850 mm wide and 2,300 mm high. The crew consists of two men. Maximum speed is 55 km per hour on land and 6.5 km per hour on water. Hydrodynamic plates are attached on both sides of the vehicle to improve its maneuverability.

The vehicle has a cable winch, a supporting and towing device, buffer, water rescue device, attached crane and gas welding equipment.

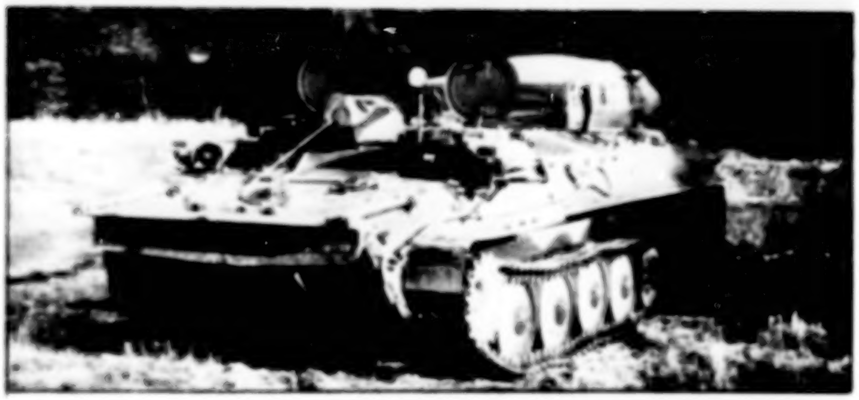
The cable winch has a maximum cable pull of 67 kN. It is powered by the MTP-LB's intermediate gearing by way of a hydraulic pump and a hydromotor. Its steering mechanism is electrohydraulic. The cables are 85 m long.

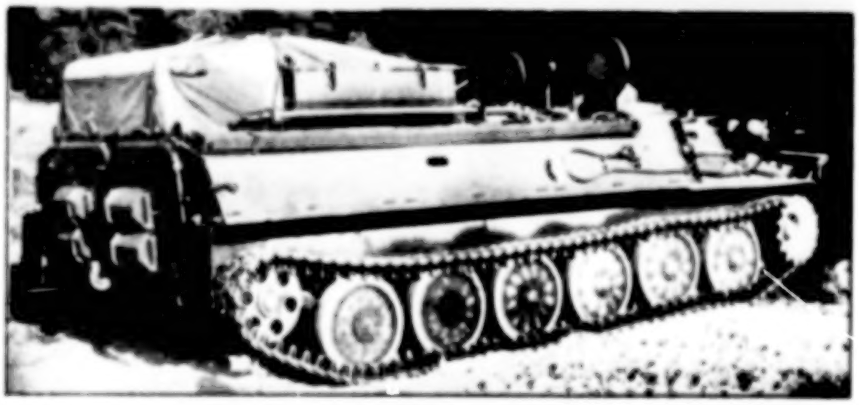
The supporting device is mounted in the front of the vehicle. Its cable winch serves as anchor. It can also do light excavation work and serves as workbench for mechanics. The supporting device is mounted at the front of the vehicle while the vehicle moves forward, and carried along on the loading area while the vehicle is in use or on the water. The supporting device is put on and taken off with a jack.

APC's, armored wagons and MT-LB's no longer able to move on their own are towed with the towing device. The attached crane is mounted at the front of the vehicle and used primarily for dismounting and mounting of aggregates. It can be used in two positions: in position I, the working zone has a size of up to 2,150 mm, and the height of the lift up to 3,600 mm; in position II, the corresponding values are 1,350 mm and 4,200 mm. The loaded crane can be driven at a speed of up to 5 km per hour and a list of up to 5°.

The MTP-LB has the equipment necessary for observation, guidance, warning, reconnaissance, deactivation, and camouflage. In contrast to the base vehicle MT-LB, and the MTP-LB shows some other differences besides the additional equipment. Racks and containers were installed to accommodate the equipment. In place of the turret, an additional hatch and angular mirror were placed above the commander's seat. This allows the commander to get in and out and to guide the MTP-LB on the water.

Inside lighting was installed for the loading and unloading of equipment.





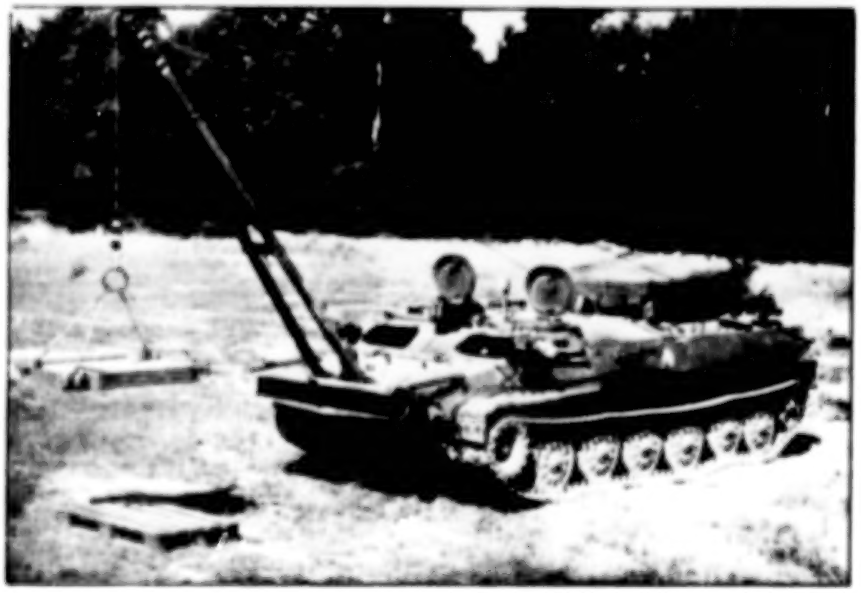


Figure 1

Technical support vehicle MTP-LB. The supporting device is attached in the front while the vehicle moves forward. Between the hatches are the cable wind and cleaning device. It is covered by canvas. The end of the cable winch is attached to the upper side of the front end. The front spotlight is between the hatches.

Figure 2

In the rack on the loading area of the MTP-LB are parts of the rescue and water rescue equipment. Hydrodynamic plates are attached on both sides of the rack. Behind the rack is the canvas-covered cable winch. On the right side of the loading area are the supports of the attached crane and the towing device.

Figure 3

MTP-LB with attached crane in action.

Figure 4

MTP-LB going on water. The breakwater is turned up on the front-end, and the cooling and exhaust casings are attached.

Figure 5

MTP-LB with attached water rescue device emerging from a water obstacle with an armored vehicle in tow.

Figure 6

MTP-LB with attached towing device, attached to the BMP armored personnel carrier.

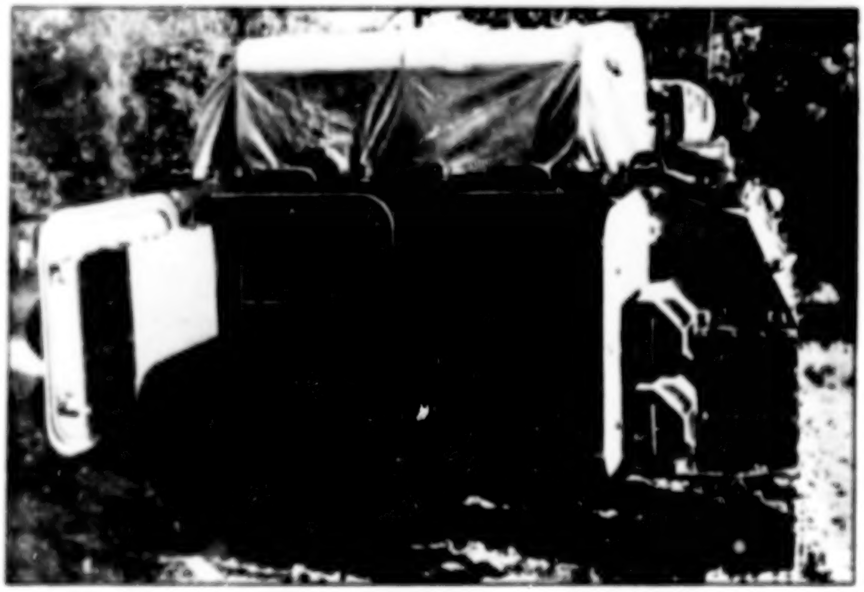


Figure 7

MTP-LB with open rear doors. The container with sets of special tools and equipment, and replacement parts can be seen.

9328
CSO: 2300/169

TRADE UNION LEADER ENCOURAGES OPEN CRITICISM

Prague SVET PRACE in Czech No 2, Jan 82 pp 4-5

[Interview with Vaclav Bezel, chairman of the Czech Trade Union Council by Jindra Horakova: "We Value Critical Opinions"; Date and Place Not Given]

> [Text] On 26-28 February, the Prague Palace of Culture will be the site of the Czech congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH]. The event will be attended by 1,100 delegates with full voting rights, 60-70 delegates with advisory voting rights and about 150 guests. Half of the delegates were elected at regional all-union conferences, and half at conferences of the Czech trade union committees. We asked Comrade Vaclav Bezel what problems were slated for the congress agenda.

[Question] The congress was preceded by annual member meetings and conferences of sector, workshop and basic union organizations, as well as district and regional ROH conferences. What were the main topics on the agenda?

[Answer] The discussions naturally focused predominantly on union operations, while most of the critical and candid comments referred to their economic role and their share in the fulfillment of the state plan. Criticism focused primarily on inconsistent and slow processing of worker comments and suggestions voiced in production consultations and at sector union meetings. Members, as well as union officials, voiced skepticism at these meeting on the ability of certain economic management organs to respond to fundamental recommendations which must be handled in the supraenterprise sphere. Opinions of the respective branch enterprise and plant economic workers were in line with this criticism. Another problem strongly emphasized at ROH meetings and conferences was the reduction of personnel in nonproduction organizations, thus also the unions. Discussions showed that effectiveness and work organization in these bodies is often wanting, even though it may be difficult to measure these accurately. Other matters were also discussed. There were recommendations, for example, to reduce the number of official vehicles and to halt production of automobiles with high gasoline consumption. Many speakers drew attention to a lack of clarity and concreteness in this year's plan. Certain meetings and conferences even witnessed complaints that the concept of worker participation in management and preparation of the plan has ceased to be applied in practice in many plants;

not because people are not interested in the plan, but rather because the economic workers are themselves in an unfavorable situation. They cannot discuss the plan with collectives since they don't really know it themselves. Under such circumstances, it is understandably difficult to organize the initiatives of people, and some officials in their contributions have even turned this down. They argued that adherence to the above concept would politically discredit the role of the unions and worker initiative as a whole. In some enterprises, we find that deliveries were not met even in those products on which collectives had based their pledges of faster plan fulfillment. Because of inadequate transportation facilities, these products idled in plants and enterprises as late as the end of last year.

There was also criticism of the low quality of domestic materials, which increases complaints about finished products, as well as the sporadic material and technical supply process related to planned tasks. Frequently criticized were supplier-customer relations. In this respect, certain discussion contributions indicated that interenterprise corruption is flourishing. It was also suggested that the trade unions become more involved in the formulation of state price policy.

[Question] These comments show the great interest of trade unionists in the economic sphere, and this is certainly beneficial. During our visits to plants and enterprises, we often hear criticism of another area, namely, care for the working man and woman. How was this subject reflected at the annual membership meetings and conferences?

[Answer] There was primarily criticism of shortages, low quality and size assortment of personal protective clothing and aids. This problem has been with us for years and we are still unable to improve it completely. We still hear references to the same defects, gloves coming apart at the seams due to poor-quality thread, there is a shortage of rubber gloves and components of respirators, protective suits, etc. Many organizations critized the lack of interest in the working and social conditions of the workers which, in capital investment construction, is always shunted to last place and, when there are no funds for these necessities, they are forgotten altogether.

Also criticized is the system of allocating ROH recreational bonuses, more of these are demanded during vacation time of families with small children. There continues to be criticism of transportation facilities to and from work, deficiencies in train and bus schedules and the quality of commuting in general. Certain speakers pointed out that staggered work shifts cause higher petrol consumption on newly opened bus lines. This is a problem we discussed with the Czech Government some time ago. We agreed then that basically the working people were right. The changed working hours were to result in savings of electricity. This, however, needs to be compared with what it costs in petrol and overtime for drivers, and then we must decide what is really more economical. We must also remember that staggered hours of work shifts also lead to shortcomings in labor organization which cannot be corrected by individual exemptions. These realities were also criticized at the annual member meetings and conferences. Speakers noted the different working hours of maintenance facilities, service installations, material distribution points, etc.

[Question] In this multitude of critical commentary, there is one subject we hear most often. This concerns the extensive and sometimes really unnecessary administrative burden which has been criticized by union officials and, above all, leaders of the brigades of socialist labor, brigade sponsors, as well as members themselves.

[Answer] A bureaucratic and administrative approach to work practiced by some officials and apparat employees has indeed been criticized at most annual meetings and conferences. We consider this criticism justified. Many times in the past we have considered how to unravel this bureaucratic knot. Too many resolutions and directives are being issued and comrades in the basic organizations are unable to even absorb them, much less fulfill them. Take, for example, a bad old habit which somehow survives to this day. There was a meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions, followed by sessions of the Czech and Slovak Union Councils. This in turn was followed by 18 trade union central committees meeting, and two further times by 17 Czech and Slovak union committee meetings. Then came regional union councils and district union committees. Soon thereafter came meetings of district union councils, and so it went. They all dealt with the same problems, a fact not bad in and of itself. However, they all also adopted their own resolutions. Some officials refuse to admit to this day that with respect to the general direction set forth by the Central Council of Trade Unions [URO], they should flexibly ensure its fulfillment, rather than adopt more resolutions. Unfortunately, there is a similar situation in the state organs. The government adopts one resolution after another and the branches do likewise. Old resolutions are not reassessed on the basis of their fulfillment or lack of it, and new resolutions are drawn up from such failures. We have been trying for years to do away with this system. Three years ago, for example, we introduced the method of coordinating the work plans of the Czech union committees and the regional union councils, since the workplace itself can breed either bureaucracy or creativity. Even those comrades who at first were angry with us, now consider this method beneficial. However, not all regional union councils as yet coordinate the district union plans, not all Czech union committees do so with regional committees, and so on. Only in the manner proposed can the union work plan become law. For everyone understands that not everything which occurs to someone as being suitable for a resolution can be included in the work plan. There can be no feeling of satisfaction at the congress with the present state of union administration. Everyone has not yet become aware that the mirror of our achievements is not the number of resolutions in aktive, but rather how well union sectors and organizations are operating.

[Question] Lately, worker attention has focused on mutual negotiations between union organs and state and economic representatives. Will the congress be concerned with these problems also?

[Answer] It will, for it is important to assess these relations to see how they contribute to the resolution of problems in worker care, in their working and living environment, education, culture and legislation. This cooperation is becoming the more urgent as we approach the time for responsible realization of the 16th CPCZ Congress resolutions, reflected in the principal directions of economic and social development in the next 5 years. And all this is taking place under complicated internal and external conditions. Such cooperation has not yet become the rule everywhere. It is lacking, for instance, between certain union organs and ministries. It has not been implemented sometimes due to the union chairman's disinclination, other times the minister's, elsewhere due to inconsistency or laxity. We would like to see cooperation of the regional union councils with the regional national committees, cooperation which would include enterprises and plants. And this should not be limited to meetings of the director with the chairman, but rather should include the whole plant committee with economic management. We see in this the only way, because the more complex the problems, the more people should take part in their resolution, thus increasing their chances of success.

[Question] You yourself have attended several annual meetings, your colleagues have brought back many experiences from others. Were you satisfied with their substance and course?

[Answer] I remember especially one annual meeting where there was considerable discussion which, however, was a bit too polished and officious. When during the intermission we had our cigarettes in the hall, I mentioned this to the local comrades. Right there and then, they all came up with enough problems to fill a notebook and the discussion continued into the evening. The union sectors had similar problems, in that there was little discussion, an average of five speakers participated, and even these were the appointed ones, as we say, one for the party group, one for the young, the foreman or workshop supervisor and, of course, the sector referent. This is all right, but we wonder why the others did not speak up. Wherein lies the difficulty? Is it that people do not trust us, or do they feel that it does no good to offer suggestions, since nothing will be done anyway? We analyze all opinions, even those voiced unofficially in the hallways. We need this to orient ourselves and we value candidly voiced views.

[Question] What other matters will you be discussing at the congress?

[Answer] The topics are many, for the congress is an opportunity to assess the effectiveness of management and control of all Czech union organs. We find out to what extent the Czech Union Council passed along good experiences of organs and organizations, and how this was concretely reflected in meeting the resolutions of the 12th URO plenum. It is also an opportunity to delve more deeply into the considerably different results of work among individual regions, districts and organizations, and assess how these differences can be overcome. We will have to find out how the tasks of ideological, educational and cultural work are carried out in union organs, organizations and cultural facilities, and how this entire system is interrelated with that which is fundamental, namely, material production. We need to judge how the area of culture, physical education and sports create conditions for purposeful utilization of free time, rest periods and needed regeneration of the labor force. We also need to establish how the trade unions participate in the development of a socialist-thinking and socialist-acting human being. In short, the congress will assess the results achieved, for this is a prerequisite for accepting responsibility for new tasks. And these, as seen by the CPCZ Central Committee sessions and URO plenary meetings, will be great and difficult. On the other hand, however, only in their fulfillment can we hope for further development of our society.

9496
CSO: 2400/149

'INDEPENDENCE' FOR TRADE UNIONS REJECTED, PARTY TIES STRESSED

West German Commentary

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 2, Jan 82 pp 13-14

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Political Leadership of Trade Unions by SED Emphasized." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

> [Text] The trade unions in the GDR "are able to represent working class interests effectively and constitute an influential social force only by being politically led by the party and by always letting themselves be guided in their fundamental requirement by the general party line." This relationship of trade union dependency on the SED is emphasized in a feature article in EINHEIT (No 1, 1982), the "journal for the theory and practice of scientific socialism" published by the SED Central Committee. The author of the article ("The Trade Unions--Most Comprehensive Class Organization for the Creator of the New Society") is Fritz Brock, chief of the Trade Unions and Social Policy Department of the SED Central Committee since 1966 and member of the FDGB National Executive Committee since 1968. Brock also, with reference to Lenin quotations, deals with the demand for "so-called free and independent trade unions" for which, according to Lenin, there was "no place in the new social order."

Precisely because the "trusting relations between the working class party and the trade unions" had "developed fruitfully and intensively," --the enemy was trying to aim his fire especially against them, distort the Leninist lessons and the experiences confirming them in practical politics, and drive a wedge between the vanguard of the workers class, the Marxist-Leninist party, and the most comprehensive class organization, the trade unions."

"Suggestions and slogans for so-called free and independent trade unions" were "nothing new at all in the history of the revolutionary working class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its counterrevolutionary attacks." But Lenin already had given a "class-conscious answer to it" and shown that such trade unions found "their 'freedom' and 'independence' in bearing no responsibility and taking no initiative for solving the overall state tasks, the construction of socialism and communism."

"Such an enterprise"--the activity of free trade unions--Lenin had called "either a bourgeois provocation of the most flagrant kind or a great stupidity, a slavish repetition of the slogans of yesterday," because "applying the slogans of the old trade union movement to the present era" would be "a departure from the socialist tasks of the workers class."

After this rejection--by means of Lenin quotations--of "free and independent trade unions within the new social order," Brock furnishes a situation assessment of the GDR trade unions, from the SED point of view, calling them the "cornerstone of the political organization of socialist society":

--They--as all our experiences confirm--take on a qualitatively new role in the management of the state and society, incomparable with their traditional role in capitalist society and inconceivable through its criteria."

For the "progressive construction of socialist society" created "not only constantly better conditions for trade union activity" but raised "objectively the responsibility and influence of the trade unions on all aspects of social development." Also in "strengthening socialist state power" the trade unions were gaining "constantly growing importance as a class organization and in representing the working people's interests." Brock says: "Never yet in the history of the German workers movement did the trade unions have such great opportunities to take care of the working people's fundamental interests as under the conditions of the workers and farmers power in the GDR."

Then Brock spells out the influence the FDGB, "being the largest mass organization of the working people in the GDR with its 9 million members," had "on the drafting and completion of all fundamental laws."

First on this list comes the GDR Labor Code that was introducedin 1978 and in the debate of which 5.8 million members had taken place and had submitted 147,000 amendment proposals. That justifies saying, according to Brock, "that the new Labor Code was written by the millions of trade union members themselves."

At the end of his article, Brock makes a special point of "the activity of volunteer functionaries," which could "not be rated highly enough because through this work hundreds of thousands constantly learn the basics in the exercise of political power, which will also remain in the future the best school for massively forming new cadres."

SED Functionary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 9 Dec 81) pp 50-56

['The Topic' feature article by Fritz Brock, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; chief, Trade Unions and Social Policy Department, SED Central Committee:

"The Trade Unions--Most Comprehensive Class Organization for the Creator of the New Society." A translation of the Guenter Mittag article cited in footnote 6 is published under the heading, "Mittag Urges Combines to Economize, Raise Production," in JPRS 78885, 1 Sep 81, No 2167 of this series, pp 64-76]

> [Text] The relationship between the party and the trade unions largely determines the relationship between the party and the class and, hence, the success of the socialist revolution. Proceeding from trade union policy as an inseparable component of the Marxist-Leninist party's overall policy, thoughts are presented on the interaction between the working class vanguard and its most comprehensive class organization, the further deepening of the trusting relations between the party and the trade unions, and the responsibility borne by the communists in them.

Establishing the historic role of the workers class as the creator and shaper of the new socialist society is what, according to Lenin, is most important in the Marxist doctrine. He devoted many studies to the art of political leadership by the working class party, the interrelations between the party, class and people in general, and the relationship between the party and the trade unions, in particular. From the outset, the SED has creatively applied these lessons, as well as Ernst Thaelmann's remarks on revolutionary trade union policy, to our concrete conditions. In this it always let itself be guided by Thaelmann's basic thesis that the relationship between the party and the trade unions largely determines the relationship between the party and the class and, hence, the success of the socialist revolution. Entirely along those lines, the SED Program states: "In the shaping of the developed socialist society, the leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, as well as the importance of the trade unions, are growing in all domains of public life. Also in the future will the party seek to boost working class influence in all domains of life."[1]

Through the high tribute the 10th SED Congress paid to the work of the trade unions and the perspectives it has indicated for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our country, the SED's Marxist-Leninist trade union policy is being carried on steadily as a firm component of its overall policy. The tasks the party congress has issued for further elevating the leadership role of the workers class and its party, enforcing the economic strategy for the 1980's, further perfecting socialist democracy, and all-round strengthening of socialist state power are inseparably linked with further strengthening the trade unions. That becomes all the more clear from the analysis of the current situation made at the Third Central Committee session and the political, economic and ideological implications from it for further strengthening socialism in the GDR and the peace-securing effect it has in our time. The assessment in Comrade Erich Honecker's Politburo report of the good results thus far in the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions and the prospect of their continued purposeful implementation radiate a sense of strength and confidence and assign new tasks. Those are truly revolutionary tasks. Fulfilling them calls for prudent, diligent, and honest work everywhere. A special responsibility is placed thereby on the communists working in the trade unions. It greatly depends on them how all FDGB members will make a resolute implementation of the policy set down by the 10th party congress their own business. "Every comrade, male and female, should thus help the trade union with word and deed in successfully exercising its responsibility as the workers' largest class organization, a school of socialism and motor of socialist emulation, and the representative of the interests of the workers and employees."[2]

Constructive Cooperation Between the Trade Unions and the Socialist State

Among Lenin's great historic distinctions was that he proved the place of the trade unions as the combative companions of the party and the cornerstone of the political organization of socialist society. "Along with the greatest transformation that started in history when the proletariat seized state power, the trade unions bring about an enormous change in all they do."[3] They--as all our experiences confirm--assume an entirely new role qualitatively in the management of the state and the society, incomparable with their traditional role in capitalist society and inconceivable through its criteria. The progressive construction of socialist society not only creates constantly better conditions for trade union activity but objectively elevates the responsibility and influence the trade unions have on all aspects of social development. In strengthening socialist state power, aimed in its main trend at an ever more comprehensive, conscious and active participation by the working people in the management of state and society, they are steadily gaining importance as the class organization representing working class interests. Never before in the history of the German workers movement did the trade unions have such great opportunities to take care of the working people's fundamental interests in safeguarding peace, in peaceful work, prosperity and social security and in shaping high-level working and living conditions, and of the interests of individual workers in settling their everyday problems, as under the conditions of the workers and farmers power in the GDR.

With 68 deputies, the trade unions are the second strongest fraction in the People's Chamber; they exercise a significant influence on all decisions and resolutions of our state organs through the large collective of their representatives in the bezirk assemblies and local people's representations. The FDGB, its elected executive committees, boards and functionaries, are broadly participating in decision-making on all vital public matters. The trade unions affect the drafting and completion of all fundamental laws.

In exercise of their legislative initiative right, the trade unions started the revision of the Labor Code; the new Labor Code was set up under their responsibility. As the result of cooperative efforts by a large collective of proven trade union functionaries, and in close cooperation with the state organs and science institutions, the draft was produced, which was then thoroughly considered all through the whole trade union organization. Some 5.8 million working people took part in this debate submitting more than 147,000 proposals for further perfecting socialist democracy, for extending trade union rights, for further social welfare improvements and the simplification of law regulations, which were taken into account for the final draft. It justifies our saying that the new Labor Code was written by the millions of trade unionists themselves. The Labor Code, as ratified by the People's Chamber on 16 June 1977, is pervaded with the principle that all industrial concerns must be considered and decided on jointly with the working people. It is, essentially, a charter of trade union rights in the GDR.

With its 9 million members, the FDGB now is the all-inclusive class organization of the workers class and also the largest mass organization of the GDR working people. It holds 97.7 percent of the workers and employees and of the intelligentsia in its ranks. More than 2 million elected volunteer functionaries, over 1.4 million of them in trade union groups, are working in the organs of the FDGB, the 15 industrial trade unions and labor unions with their managements and boards, the enterprise trade union organizations and the trade union groups. Working people of different religions and members of all parties in the Democratic Block belong to the FDGB. The outcome of trade union elections thus far shows an increasing breadth of composition on the trade union executives and boards. More than 60 percent of the trade union executive membership and over 70 percent of the trade union group functionaries are nonparty or belong to the block parties.

The trade union elections turned into an overwhelming pledge by millions to an active implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions. Characteristic of the course of the elections has been a great creative debate and the resolution on the responsibility and specific tasks for coping with the demands of the 1980's. The conclusion and culmination of this important demonstration will be the 10th FDGB Congress, where the further trade union tasks in the GDR's social development are going to be discussed and decided on.

Trusting Relations Between the Party and the Trade Unions

The working class seizure of political power, its being safeguarded, and an effective functioning of the political organization of socialist society are impossible without trusting and creative interaction between the working class vanguard and its most comprehensive class organization. Its role as the class vanguard and leader in the political mass struggle in socialist construction the party fulfills mainly by always being solidly and indissolubly linked with the entire workers class and all working people. The trade unions, in turn, can effectively represent working class interests and form an influential social force only by being politically led by the party and letting themselves always be guided in their fundamental requirement by the general party line.

Our party has learned crucial lessons from history. Its consistent course led to the unity of the workers class, a unified party and unified trade unions. Healing the split of the workers class and merging the trade unions into a unified FDGB immediately after the start of the antifascist-democratic work of construction in today's GDR became possible because the historic KPD Appeal of 11 June 1945 had developed the program tasks for it. The founding of the SED also created the premise to form, for the first time on German soil, qualitatively completely new relations between the working class party and the trade unions. The Third FDGB Congress in 1950 adapted it as its program: For the first time in the history of the German trade union movement, the trade unions acknowledged the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the conscious vanguard of the workers class. They consistently adopted the premise of Marxism-Leninism and in their statutes proclaimed the socialist social order as their goal. That was the outcome of a frequently complicated clarification process opposing the strong efforts by rightist forces to rechannel the trade unions into so-called political neutrality with none but unionist interests.

The GDR working people's trust in the SED has grown tremendously because of the implementation of the Eight, Ninth and 10th SED Congress resolutions, particularly on the basis of the political course of the main task, putting into effect the unity of economic and social policy even under greatly altered foreign and domestic conditions. Party policy is oriented to the working people's interests; it expresses those interests. Important impulses for the party's mass solidarity and mass influence stem from that the people through their own contribution and commitment to this policy ever more strongly experience its being correct and effective. The popular saying among us that good work pays off, for the individual as for the commonwealth, has become a basic social experience. The main task policy, truly a workers' policy, has raised the interrelation between the party and the trade unions onto a new level.

Trade union influence on management and planning, on the state and the economy, was heightened, and new large areas for future activities were opened up. The main task policy is a reliable compass for the trade union representation of interests. The growth of the trade unions' authority and of their initiatives and activities, in solving production tasks as well as in further improving working and living conditions, have never before been this conspicuous. The trusting relations between the working class party and the trade unions have gone through a fruitful and intensive development. All the more the enemy seeks to direct his fire against them, distort the Leninist lessons and the experiences confirming them in practical politics, and drive a wedge between the working class vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, and its most comprehensive class organization, the trade unions.

Suggestions and slogans, particularly, for the so-called free and independent trade unions are nothing new at all in the history of the revolutionary working class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its counterrevolutionary attacks. V. I. Lenin gave a class-conscious answer to it. He showed that for such trade unions that find their "freedom" and "independence" in bearing no responsibility and making no initiatives for solving overall state tasks, for the construction of socialism and communism, there is no place in the new social order. He called such an enterprise "either a bourgeois provocation of the most flagrant sort or a great stupidity, a slavish repetition of the slogans of yesterday," because the "application of the slogans of the old trade union movement to the current era would be a departure from the socialist tasks of the workers class."[4]

Main Task Policy--Program for Trade Union Interest Representation

The 10th SED Congress confirmed the basic experience that the trusting relation between the party, the class and the people is not given for once and for all but always must "be ensured with every step, so as to incessantly consolidating and strengthening the unity between the party and the people."[5] For implementing the pioneering decisions of the 10th party congress, a key position is therefore assigned to further shaping the trusting and creative relations between the working class vanguard and its most comprehensive class organization, to further implementing the party's leadership role in the trade unions . A pivot and fulcrum for it is found in the 10th party congress decision to carry on consistently with the main task in its unity of economic and social policy even under the new conditions.

That decision relies on the party's trust in our people's grown intellectual-creative potential and on our economic capacity. As attested to by the working people's millionfold agreement by word and deed, this policy turns out to be a source of strength for reinforcing socialism and preserving peace.

Reaching our targets in the continued implementation of our program for full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability depends on the full use of the advantages of socialism, which makes possible for us releasing those impulses that ensure a performance growth beyond the ordinary measure. That largely depends on how the objectively extant capacity and performance readiness of the workers, male and female, the researchers and engineers, and the production organizers "are put into social effect through prudent management activity so that thereby we meet the tasks of the 1980's."[6] Never yet did the trade unions have tasks and fields of activity as great as today. That holds for the development of mass initiative, the focusing on the 10 key points in our economic strategy, as for the systematic improvement of working and living conditions and providing ever better satisfaction of intellectual-cultural needs.

Participation in the plan in recent years became a decisive aspect of trade union interest representation and is an important element that goes into social decision-making. An assured right and fundamental principle of the socialist planned economy is that on all levels the draft plan is prepared with active trade union participation and is ratified through concurrence with the trade unions. The five-year plan draft, 1981 to 1985, and the 1982 national economic plan draft have all been discussed in plan debates organized by the trade unions in all work collectives. More than 90 percent of the working people took part in this discussion of the basic problems in continued economic development and their own prospects, significantly influencing these documents through more than 1.1 million proposals and propositions of their own. Based on the proposals and propositions of the plan debate, trade union positions taken accordingly play a significant role, all the way from enterprises to the People's Chamber.

It is a responsible task of the party organizations and of each communist to help all trade union executives and boards fully comprehend the historic magnitude of the tasks before us and from there, form and promote everywhere combative positions for coping with them. Everyday conversations on the job, in trade union membership meetings and in the schools of socialist work, about the implementation of the general party line are indispensable for it and will be all the more effective, the better one can explain our conditions and connections and derive from it consequences for action in any concrete field of work. In the schools of socialist work organized by the trade unions, there are more than 3 million working people who regularly discuss the 10th party congress requirement, acquire basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge and new production experiences to do still better at their jobs. Of the 3 million participants more than 80 percent is nonparty and 70 percent, production workers. Such eagerness to learn, mainly on the part of nonparty trade unionists, is unprecedented in our history.

The performance development intended for the 1980's sets new standards for the management and organization of socialist emulation and thus also for the activities of the trade unions that have been sponsoring and organizing it so well.

The emulation resolutions of the initiative enterprises, through the well tested slogan, "High performance growth through increasing labor productivity, efficiency and quality--Everything for the good of the people and for peace!" display these standards and mark a new phase and quality of our emulation development. In response to the basic concern of our economic strategy, the responsibility of all emulation collectives for increasing labor productivity and efficiency and for basically improving the cost/benefit ratio is being made the centerpiece of emulation management.

Combined with it comes a clear mass initiative focus on the fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the qualitative parameters and on the further deepening of intensification and rationalization.

Primary attention is given, e.g., to the obligations to improve the economic effectiveness of science and technology, the optimum refinement and utilization of available energy sources, raw materials and working materials, the rigorous reduction of production consumption, prime costs and investment expenditures, the efficient use of the social labor assets, including the securing of high labor discipline, and the meeting of all export tasks, proper as to plans, contracts and qualities, so that we can produce a greater distributable end product.

The obligation not to use and to return funds allocated by means of the plan marks a new quality of economic thinking and releases important reserves for constantly further improving the cost/benefit ratio at the overall national economic scale. Through the emulation resolutions of those combines and enterprises which were the first after the Third SED Central Committee session to determine their targets for the all-round fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the 1982 national economic plan--which were published in the daily press--we have an excellent guideline for adapting the complete objective and management of socialist emulation to the 10 key points in the economic strategy for the 1980's. What political leadership activity now focuses on is to help all collectives determine their own tasks in applying that strategy and assume ambitious emulation commitments commensurate with the new standards.

Everywhere, the trade unions have to use the whole multiplicity of forms of democratic participation, so that rationalization becomes organized as a process in which the working people's active participation is not only encouraged, but challenged. When there are changes made in our economic structure, when measures are taken in production rationalization, or when new technologies are introduced, the trade unions on a legal basis are from the outset involved in resolving these complex tasks. The experiences and results in the release of more than 2,400 manpower, e.g., through the Schwedt Initiative, "Fewer produce more," illuminate how broad the field is for trade union participation in socialist rationalization.

This ranges from preparing the working people in good time for their new jobs, to help in acquiring new knowledge and skills, via the influence on shaping working conditions conducive to personality development, better working conditions and more substantive work and the clarification of labor law and wage matters, all the way to helping them in solving all other social problems arising from changes in jobs or housing. It is perfectly correct that trade union work exercises a great influence on structuring all measures of socialist rationalization that have enormous bearing on the work of thousands of working people and the life of their families so that conformity is obtained between social requirements and the working people's interests. Through prescience, trade union executives and boards can make an important contribution to recognizing in time and taking account of the consequences regarding the disposition, training, collective relations and health care of the working people as resulting from the application of microelectronics, industrial robots and the release of manpower caused by it. It has been found that things are going well wherever the communists, in particular, commit themselves to preparing and taking every step in rationalization together with the working people.

The trade unions have a great share in preparing and carrying out all measures affecting the working people's working and living conditions. All the comprehensive measures of social policy taken since the eighth party congress have been prepared, worked out and implemented jointly with the trade unions. On the basis of good results achieved through joint efforts, important results were achieved through their activities and services also in sociopolitical fields for which the trade unions bear a special responsibility. This includes their influence on improving working conditions, mainly health and labor safety and the supplying of the workers as much as their responsible participation in implementing a performance-oriented wage policy. It includes the efforts in satisfying the working people's growing needs for recreation and the extension of the FDGB vacation services and a better utilization of industrial recreation facilities as much as those for extensive material and financial care, and working people's care in cases of illness, labor accidents, disabilities and old-age.

The party program calls our attention to the link between further improving the effectiveness of socialist democracy and the extension of the role and responsibility of the trade unions in the work collective.[7] The new Labor Code strongly revalidates the importance of trade union work in the work collective and significantly expands the rights of the trade union functionaries within the groups. Whatever tasks one may pick out, frank conversations about topical political issues in the international class conflict, the organization of a vivid, mobilizing and intelligible contest, the indefatigable concern for improving working and living conditions, the development of multifaceted intellectual-cultural life--all that is most closely linked with trade union activity in the work collective.

The activity of volunteer functionaries, mainly those of trade union stewards, has received a much higher rating. This volunteer activity cannot be rated too highly because hundreds of thousands constantly learn in this work the basics in the exercise of political power and this also will remain in the future the best school for massively forming new cadres. The support given by the trade union executives to an all-round assistance and training of such functionaries therefore deserve much attention by every party organization and every state and economic manager, high appreciation and public recognition. More relevant than ever is the demand that it be each communist's first concern to work, with conviction, actively in the trade unions. That will be all the more successful, the better he knows how to make the consistent implementation of the policy assigned by the 10th party congress everyone's business, proves himself as a good trade unionist and, precisely because of that, complies with party policy. "It is a matter of honor for each comrade to be a fine unionist."[8]

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 37.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 59.

3. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 438.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Original Draft of Article 'The Next Tasks of Soviet Power,'" "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 205.

5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 137.

6. Guenter Mittag, "Combines in the Struggle for Implementing the Economic Strategy of the 10th SED Congress," EINHEIT, No 6, 1981, p 533.

7. Cf. "Programm . . .," op. cit., pp 43-44.

8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 121.

5885
CSO: 2300/179

LITERARY PROOF SEEN FOR 'GERMAN SOCIALIST NATION'S CULTURAL IDENTITY'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 9 Dec 81) pp 62-68

['The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, member, SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC: "Patriotism and Internationalism in Our Literature." A review of Kurt Hager's book cited in footnote 16 is translated under the heading, "Collection of Hager's 1972-81 Speeches, Essays Published," in JPRS 80140, 19 Feb 82, No 1977 of this series, pp 18-21]

> [Text] Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in their unity and mutual dependence are critical components in the development of our society and its national culture. Many literary works of recent years are expressing that in new ways. Through its contents, committed to socialism and peace, GDR literature refutes the thesis that is widespread in the FRG that there allegedly continues to exist a uniform political and cultural nation. Our writers' commitment to peace is part of the activities through which progressive authors in many countries fight against imperialist war hysteria.

In harmony with the historic worldwide transition process from capitalism to socialism, the GDR people opted irrevocably for socialism. "Under working class leadership, it constituted itself the socialist German nation. No one can alter that in any way."[1] The socialist German nation in the GDR is and remains the historically necessary form in which--together with the closest internationalist fellowship with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states--the developed socialist society is constructed in our country, which establishes the basic prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

Socialist patriotism, which can exist only in closest interaction with proletarian internationalism, socialist love for our fatherland and a national sentiment commensurate with it, became irrevocable components of the conscious shaping of our society and its way of life and an ever renewed impulse toward opting for the socialist development in the GDR. That is also served by our literature and art. That is mainly so when they make men aware of the importance and value of the idea of the fatherland, as Anna Seghers demanded as early as 1935 in Paris at the International Writers' Congress for the Defense of Culture. "The thing is that it does not do the writer any good, even if he learned his craft as well as Flaubert once demanded, so that the tree he describes differs from any trees anyone else has ever seen. The writer of our days must have caught something else of the essence of the tree. There is no homeland soil as such, there is no apple tree as such. The apple tree on the field of a feudal landowner differs from one on a field confiscated by the treasury and differs also from one on a collective farm." Anna Seghers asked whether a writer who loved his country might be proud of the "Leuna National Farm." Her answer: He is not proud of this "National Farm" but "he is proud of the labor of 50,000 workers, proud of what has been made of that landscape soaked with the blood of Central German revolt, proud of the future of Leuna. Do ask yourselves what it is that is being loved of your country by this weighty word 'love of the fatherland.'"[2]

Anna Seghers' demand is as timely as ever. Today, the "future of Leuna" she referred to has become reality. In more than one literary work, the real "Leuna National Farm" has become an object of pride, expressed by a new, socialist love of the fatherland.

Two German Literatures

Beyond the shores of the Werra and Elbe they keep trying to keep open the "German question," which has long been settled by history. They talk and write about an alleged continuing existence of "political national unity." The GDR and FRG are welded together into a "uniform cultural nation," or they keep twaddling that there purportedly continues to exist "one German literature." That suits those well who are dreaming about being able to push the effective borders of German imperialism again to the Oder and Neisse, thereafter to the "borders of 1937" of once, and then still farther east. Our press has often written about it. The real danger emanating from such "all-German dreams" proportionately increases with the imperialist political and military confrontation course and arms buildup.

A new nation concept was evolving, the conservative FRG journalist Fritz J. Raddatz prophesied. One could by now speak again of one German national culture. The literature in the two German states had "become one literature (almost of one country), in its expressing suffering, coercion, deprivation, withdrawal into individuality, the individual, subjectivity and the personal."[3]

How a work as that of Anna Seghers, which is so exemplary of the socialist German national literature of the GDR, can be bent through interpretation so it becomes presentable in the "all-German" sense as apostrophized by Raddatz, was presented by an edifying example by the prominent FRG critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki. Anna Seghers he terms a "principally religious author" (any comment would be feeble). "The foundation of her work, whatever it may look like, is not Marxist, not materialist, but devout." Anna Seghers was telling atheistic legends, secular martyrologies, profane passionals of the insulted and the injured, of victims of politics and history. The upshot, according to Reich-Ranicki: "Within man there is something--as it is put in the 'Seventh Cross'--that 'was unassailable and invulnerable.' This is the value Anna Seghers celebrated--a value beyond communism, class struggle and revolution, beyond politics."[4] Any tenth-grader in our country would only shake his head over anything like that. But for the literature business prevailing in the FRG, it is not difficult to predict that Reich-Ranicki's botched work of interpretation will keep not a few literary interpreters busy and point them in the (false) direction.

Belles-lettres in the GDR can help shape a class-bound love of country devoted to the GDR, closely tied up with a ripening socialist national sentiment.

Literature and art, it turns out, are indispensable for forming a sensitivity, a subtle sense for that the existence and development of our socialist fatherland constitute a value of supreme social and personal significance. Art and literature arouse a sense and feeling for that our country is the historically supreme achievement of all forward-directed endeavors for which the German people has been fighting throughout its long, contradictory history, and that this country of ours offers an individual the widest space for development, action and responsibility.

Let us look at some books of 1981. In our country, and only here, the carpenter Tillmann Rutenschneider or the worker and later party secretary Kurt Zipfel can face, under whatever contradictory circumstance, the challenges to their capacities and abilities, to their sense of responsibility to large or small collectives of working people, and can do justice to them. The responsibility of the individual worker to history has thus far been best presented, impressive in its artistry, I think, in Bernhard Seeger's novel, "The Harmonica Player."

The Munich author August Kuehn, who shares the same world image with Bernhard Seeger, a few years ago also came out with a novel, "Die Merkwuerdigkeiten im Leben des Fritz Wachsmuth" (The Peculiarities in the Life of Fritz Wachsmuth), Volk und Welt, 1980, which likewise aimed at fostering an individual's sense of historic responsibility. But how different is the intent of his book and the effect of it! The differences in the characters and plots do not matter nor does the difference in the form of individualized writing. The dialectic of characters and situations and the details and motives of this FRG novel, placed in the postwar setting, are bound to be different. Especially the clearly sought thrust of Kuehn's consistently backing the historic responsibility of the working people rests on sociohistoric premises that differ from Seeger's. It belongs--as can be demonstrated down to many details--to a different literature from the one within which Bernhard Seeger writes, in a socialist country and for a socialist country.

Only in our country, the GDR, with its multifaceted literary aggregate, however ordinary their work may be, is this "historic dimension" of action conceivable, as of Elsa Scharfschwerdt, Mayor Sommerfeld, Rosina Grosch, but also this specific vagueness and indecision in the attitudes of the Roman couple and of Elli Gebhardt--to mention but a few characters of Helmut Sakowski's novel "Verflucht und geliebt" (Cursed and Loved).

Things are different again in Gerhard Holtz-Baumert's volume of stories, "Erscheinen Pflicht" (Appearance Mandatory). The book is not without cheerfulness, humor, even irony, says the blurb. Yet its subtext sounds worried anxiety in which the author explores whether we always respond cautiously, sensitively and accurately enough in our country to conflicts or yearnings of young people who are about to sink their roots into their physical-psychological and political homeland and whose task it is to carry the flag forward. In Holtz-Baumert's narrative art, that apprehension is identical with his backing the young people's future prospects he is talking about, in awake and unerring party-mindedness toward his socialist country which becomes the young people's fatherland, not last, through the attitude and moral responsibility of their fathers.

Rainer Kerndl's political adventure novel, "Eine undurchsichtige Affaire" (An Opaque Affair), with its setting in the Near East, is very much a typically GDR book, and not only because its hero, Jochen Altenstaedt, comes from Erfurt, but also because of the ways and means in which it inquires into national identity and national consciousness.

Erik Neutsch, it seemed, had by now confined himself to stories of the present-day GDR and literary accounts of GDR history, but then he recently came out with a historic narrative, "Forster in Paris." Within a lengthy literary discussion of literary ancestors and the handling of genuine and fictitious symbols of German history, Neutsch acknowledges and espouses his Georg Forster, that most consistent German Jacobinic revolutionary of the pedigree of those who--as Engels put it, "fought for realities and not for illusions."[5] A creditable credo, sure enough. But more than that as well: Setting down an imperishable characteristic of the historically grown cultural self-reliance of our socialist German nation. In mentally bridging Forster's attitude with today's demands, Neutsch wrote in his Forster essay: "Being engaged and bearing responsibility for what happens all around, seeking perfection, but only together with those (not without them and not against them) who received the historic mission to provide the proper respect for perfection both individual and social, and ensuring the necessary material basis for it. That would be an extraordinary gain but conceivable only in a country of socialist coinage, and it would above all be the consistent continuation of the revolutionary traditions in German literature and art."[6]

How the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are melded together in a new literary fashion is shown in Max Walter Schulz's recent story "Die Fliegerin oder Aufhebung einer Legende" (The Aviatrix or the Elimination of a Myth). On the Byelorussian front in 1944, under most peculiar circumstances, closeness, warmth, love develop between the Russian aviatrix L'yuba Kondratyeva and the German private-first-class Benno Hellriegel. That deeply affects Hellriegel as a person. But all that remains imaginary, mute, unspoken. Only decades later, at L'yuba's funeral, the "elimination of a mute myth" is brought about. The relations between the two nations have profoundly changed. Now it has become honest, and necessary probably too, to say what had remained unsaid and report about the episode between L'yuba and Hellriegel, decades removed. It sounds like an anticipatory introduction by which Max Walter Schulz introduced his story in the 1960's, when he wrote: "The bourgeois-humanistic German literature about World War II preferentially dealt with typical destinies. But if today in the FRG something that may not be a relevant yet still at least a subjective truth, that among the people in Nazi uniform something like personal decency still existed, is being manipulated to give rise to the myth of the good German who did his duty, that is not the fault of Boell, Borchert, Walser and their peers. In their work, the sorrow about the senselessness of human tragedies under fascism conforms with their indictment of the incessant human corruption of bourgeois society. The business of the moral rehabilitation of fascist and fascistoid German inhumanity is taken care of by junk-type literature, the "Landserhefte" and anti-Soviet and anticommunist shockers, products of psychological warfare with circulations running into the millions. But it also comes out of the memoirs of former military and Nazi bosses giving themselves serious airs. It is understood that this not only shifts around the connections of historic truth but deliberately falsifies historic truth. That goes to say that socialist German literature dealing with World War II still has to look for its historic and social terrain within the contemporary German antagonistic conflicts. It must not descend unarmed from the hills of the German spirit of aggression and let it go at that. It also must protect and defend the peace of its own landscape. How? Essentially by poetically documenting that the liberation from fascism channeled into socialist development truly achieved the freedom for the great human change."[7] That is shown in particular by the signatures under which especially here, in this topic, the socialist patriotism of this our literature and art necessarily and organically connects with the idea of German-Soviet friendship, with the idea and act of proletarian internationalism.

"Nothing Is As Important As the Preservation of Peace!"

On 20 August 1981, the Association of German Writers (VS) in Munich published an "Appeal of the Writers of Europe." For the first time simultaneously in the name of a number of writers associations and PEN centers (including the GDR) and many individual signers from almost all European countries, later joint by almost all European authors associations. This is how the appeal starts out: "Humanity is now to get used to the criminal idea that a limited nuclear war can be fought--with new missiles, neutron bombs, cruise missiles and so forth. We counter that and say: No limited war can be fought with nuclear weapons; it would destroy the whole world."

Indeed there has never been a document yet which--as the text states--received "beyond all borders of states and social systems and beyond all differences of opinion" the agreement of entirely different and indeed, in their literary, ideological and political persuasions, opposed authors from almost all European countries, who are all unanimous in one decisive matter: "Nothing is as important as the preservation of peace!"[6]

Even the first commentaries pointed out that it had been necessary in this peace initiative to confront from the outset the propaganda objection that resistance against new missiles, neutron bombs, cruise missiles, and so forth "was identical with anti-Americanism, alias nationalism."[9] The progressive FRG writer Bernt Engelmann, who incidentally received a collective solidarity announcement from 52 SPD Bundestag deputies, found himself duty bound to take a position on that objection which had "unfortunately been raised also by prominent cabinet members." He said: "Our country's territory is 40 times smaller than that of the United States but ten times more densely settled. In spite of that, most U.S. nuclear warheads are deployed not in the United States, but among us. Our country has been turned into the most enormous arsenal of nuclear and other annihilation weapons that there is in the world. Now the already here concentrated U.S. nuclear power is meant to be further augmented, and this by new systems that can mainly still be used only offensively, in a nuclear first strike. And as previously, so also in the future, the sole power of disposition over all weapons of annihilation stationed among us will go to the President of the United States." Calling "anti-American" an objection against the "course of Messrs. Reagan, Weinberger & Co.," Engelmann called "insulting to all decent Americans" and their democratic and antifascist traditions: "Resolutely confronting warmongers and saber rattlers is never directed against a nation. Our commitment plainly is the very opposite of the armaments madness in which relentless, power and profit greedy and misanthropic groups are engaged, and which threatens all inhabitants of the earth."[10]

That is the language of the noncommunist initiator of this peace appeal and not the argumentation of that significant document itself. Signing it, even declared enemies of communism thought possible and advisable, for instance. Whatever the view about the causes and mechanisms of the arms race and the judgments on social systems may be--above and beyond all differences in opinion--the vote that counts first and foremost is: "We appeal to the world audience not to resign but dedicate itself with greater energy to peace. Let us act together so that Europe will not be turned into a nuclear battlefield of another, the last, world war. Nothing is as important as the preservation of peace!"[11]

Western media have scolded Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers Association, that in his speech about that appeal he had made a special point of the peace power and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community and of the personal share in it of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev. It may be taken for granted that Kant--like Engelmann and many others--would have been fair enough to pay proper respect to any American president if his political reason and mouth had uttered as many and equally reasonable peace proposals as did the Soviet statesman--ignoring for the time being the sympathy he enjoys among communists here. But as one knows, there are no such proposals. Reagan's so-called zero option, disseminated a few weeks ago with big manipulative efforts, cannot fool a thinking person. That was no peace initiative but, if looked at closely, turns out to have been a propaganda trick.

It is a hopeless illusion that the socialist German literature of the GDR might bear witness to the lie of the century, the threat from the east, betray proletarian internationalism which coincides with the inevitable course of history or anti-imperialist solidarity, or become disloyal to the law under which it has placed itself.

"You Think the Russians Want War"

That Yevtushenko poem embraces a whole literary program. It represents a literary current that in various forms and expressions has permeated all Soviet literature ever since Lenin's call, "To all!" The civil war, the intervention by 14 imperialist states, all suffering and struggle in World War II against German fascism, created an unusually multifaceted literary art which in its effects--wherever they can make themselves felt--constitutes one of the strongest ethical-intellectual potentials against the lie of the century about the Soviet threat. A boundless love for peace, an absolute will for peace, combines there with a resolute determination to defend the Soviet homeland and socialism against any assault or attack even under the toughest conditions.

GDR readers are inordinately receptive to books by Soviet authors, from Furmanov's "Chapayev" to Polevoi's "A True Man" to Sholokhov's "A Human Destiny" and Rasputin's "Live and Do Not Forget," and to books about the living and the dead, and about war and peace. For new generations of younger readers this literature is part of their own understanding and experience of history.

And there is more to it: the Soviet author Grigori Baklanov wrote on the occasion of the publication of Max Walter Schulz's novel "Der Soldat und die Frau" (The Soldier and the Woman): "At that time, Max Walter Schulz and I fought on opposite fronts. The books we have written since bear witness, from opposite sides, to one and the same period and the same tragic events in which we took part: enemies then, equal-minded today." Yet Baklanov did not forget to add: "However, by no means all who confronted each other at the time can say today they are of equal mind and nothing separates them."[12]

Equal-minded, firmly allied with the Soviet Union, today are, along with authors like Schulz, Hofe, Noll, or Brezan, many many others--younger ones among them--who came to understand the "German defeat" as their liberation. Friendship with the Soviet Union has become one of the basic ideas in our literature. In the third volume of the Hanusch trilogy by Jurij Brezan, there are found a few lines, throw-away lines actually, that have made a deep impression on me. "If there is no war," Felix remarked pensively, "if we ever truly get peace, then the Russians will have dragged the peace into the world, truly dragged, as laboriously as, on Repin's painting, the Volga Boatmen."[13]

Our people has established a deep bond with Soviet literature. Something similar could be shown in the intellectual-artistic relations with other socialist countries, from Cuba to Vietnam and Mongolia, and with the anti-imperialist national movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Indian and Afroamerican liberation movements in the United States itself.

How hard it is, on the other hand, to circulate Konstantin Simonov's books, e.g., in the GDR, was once admitted by Helmut Kindler who publishes Simonov's works there. Alfred Andersch also complained in that sense about lack of knowledge of Soviet literature. In a "Public Letter to a Soviet Author, Concerning the Obsolete," he wrote: 'By a 'Westerner' I mean an intellectual in Western countries whose knowledge of Russian literature begins with Gogol and ranges via Turgenev, Dostoyevsky and Tolstoi to Gorki. At Mayakovski at the latest, his contacts are torn. At best he may have read some Ehrenburg, Babel's 'Budenny's Red Cavalry,' Gladkov's 'Cement' and a few symbolistic poems. From then on he uncritically accepts the information that the literature of the Soviet Union is a state-managed propaganda enterprise, belles-lettres interpretations of party assignments."[14] DIE WELT, e.g., acknowledges only one modern Russian literature, that of the so-called dissidents, whose intrigues Konstantin Simonov has called "political striptease."

In his open answer to Alfred Andersch, Simonov said: "The most essential in all this striptease, calling for acuity of judgment, is the desire to bring about a collision between our country and the West, and this by all means and at any cost." Simonov expressed his high respect to Andersch for his deeply pained sense of our general responsibility for the future. How do the "lessons of war and the author's duty connect? In that literature does what it can and "so that in the words 'second world war' the adjective 'second' be replaced by the adjective 'last' and compels mankind to come to its senses and terminate the enumeration of wars with 'two': for there will be no one left to count to four, once it has come to three."[15]

There is no other literature which, in the given richness of its work, does as much for peace as does Soviet literature. The readers' and authors' relations with that literature have greatly entered into our national identity, the specificity of our socialist German national literature--as the attitude of equal-minded in the spirit of peace and socialism.

Let us work hard to do our share in this spirit: Its internationalist backing lends our own patriotism strength; through strengthening the GDR, including its cultural strength, we best contribute to the strengthening of peace. "Culture and art," Karl Hager said, "can make a direct contribution to shaping international relations in line with the peaceful coexistence principles and thus, to safeguarding peace. The creators of culture in the GDR can illuminate from their own experience the close connection between peace and socialism, and between social and cultural progress."[16]

There is a scene in Berhard Seeger's novel "The Harmonica Player" where his hero, with quiet and calm pride, reflects on the common achievements: "He was far from believing they had now done enough. Tillman knew all too well: He who thinks that has by that token stopped living. "[17]

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 28.

2. Anna Seghers, "Love for the Fatherland,""Zur Tradition der sozialistischen Literatur in Deutschland" (On the Tradition of Socialist Literature in Germany), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1967, pp 731-732.

3. Fritz J. Raddatz, "National Literature as Anxiety Literature," "Almanach fuer Literatur und Theologie," Vol 14, Wuppertal, 1980, p 43.

4. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 15 November 1980, p iv.

5. Friedrich Engels, "German Conditions," II, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works) Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 577.

6. Erik Neutsch, "Georg Foster Today," "Fast die Wahrheit" (Almost the Truth), Tribuene publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 241.

7. Max Walter Schulz, "Some Notes on GDR War Literature," "Pinocchio und kein Ende. Notizen zur Literatur" (Pinocchio and No End--Notes on Literature), Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle/Saale, 1978, p 61.

8. "Appeal of the Writers of Europe," "Action: Peace Appeal of the Writers of Europe." Association of German Writers (VS), IG Druck und Papier, Stuttgart, 1981, p 5.

9. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 21 August 1981, p 29.

10. Bernt Engelmann, "Some Words of Peace to the Federal Government," "Action: Peace Appeal . . .," op. cit., pp 14-16.

11. Ibid., p 5.

12. G. Baklanov, "Max Walter Schulz, 'The Soldier and the Woman,'" KUNST UND LITERATUR, No 5, 1981, p 503.

13. Jurij Brezan, "Mannesjahre" (Mature Years), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 296.

14. Alfred Andersch, "Public Letter to a Soviet Author, Concerning the Obsolete," "Bundesrepublik Deutschland - Sowjetunion, Offenheit gegen Offenheit" (FRG - Soviet Union--Frankness for Frankness), Cologne, 1978, p 19.

15. Ibid., pp 41-42.

16. Kurt Hager, "The 10th Party Congress and the Cultural Policy," "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" (Contributions to Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 213.

17. Bernhard Seeger, "Der Harmonikaspieler," Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle/Leipzig, 1981, p 433.

5885
CSO: 2300/179

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 9 Dec 81) 'Resumes' addendum

Socialist Revolution's Universally Valid Laws and Their Creative Application by Our Party

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Manfred Herold, economist, candidate member, SED Central Committee; first dean (prorektor), Karl Marx Party College, SED CC; pp 7-14]

> [Text] The resolute implementation of the universally valid laws of the socialist revolution is a fundamental prerequisite for the construction of the new order. Through polemics against revisionist distortions of Marxism-Leninism, it is being shown that the condition for successful management activity and the criterion for the maturity of a Marxist-Leninist party is its ability to make these universally valid laws prevail creatively under the concrete conditions of its country and of the international balance of power. How has our party always complied with that requirement?

Our Party's Leadership Power in Shaping the New Society

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, department chief, SED Central Committee; chief editor, EINHEIT; pp 15-24]

> [Text] Disputing bourgeois attempts at detaching the results of our socialist construction from its essential causes, the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party is being explained while it is being shown that what has been achieved is the outcome of party policy implemented through diligent efforts. Its real leadership strength is critical for the implementation of our demanding tasks. On what do we rely in this, and what consequences arise from it?

Socialist State Power Under Marxist-Leninist Party's Leadership--Basic Question of Socialist Revolution

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, department chief, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Council of State; pp 25-32]

> [Text] By means of our practical politics and against any unsolicited advice from those that want to "improve" socialism, this is being demonstrated: Strong socialist state power, firmly rooted in the people and inviolable, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, is the basis and condition for our continued successful advances and is and remains the fundamental question of the socialist revolution. What are our socialist state's main tasks? How can its authority and functioning capacity be ensured under any conditions?

Struggle for Highest Labor Productivity--Requirement of Economic Strategy

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Claus Kroemke, economist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 33-40. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Industry Urged to Focus on Product Quality, Not Quantity," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Proceeding from increased labor productivity, the indispensable prerequisite for any social progress, its importance is being explained for carrying on the main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy. Which economic and ideological questions are primary under concrete conditions today for boosting our labor productivity as our party's economic strategy would have it? Why and how does the effort for increasing labor productivity connect with efficiency improvements? What does it mean to conduct this struggle politically?

Socialist Planned Economy and Democratic Centralism

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, economist, deputy director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairman, Council for Economic Management Problems; pp 41-49. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Socialist Market Economy, 'Equal Rights' for Combines Rejected," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Today it is historically proven that--as the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism had shown--the socialist planned economy can prosper only on the basis of democratic centralism and its improvements in line with any given developmental conditions. Precisely for that reason is this essential element of socialist management exposed to unabating attacks from bourgeois ideologists. In which directions is this principle being shaped, under party leadership, as required for making our economic strategy prevail in the 1980's?

Protection of Socialism and Defense of Peace--A Cause for Entire People

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 57-61]

> [Text] It is among our party's historic achievements that the military protection of our accomplishments and the defense of peace have become a cause for the entire people. What consequences arise for our national defense from the arms buildup and confrontation policy of the United States and NATO? It is the business of every communist and each basic organization to help further develop all citizens' readiness and capability for national defense, deepen each citizen's sense of responsibility for reinforcing state security, and strengthen our revolutionary vigilance.

Greater Yield From Research

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Siegfried Schilller, deputy director, Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute, Dresden; pp 69-74. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Contact With Western Customers Urged to Improve Research Results," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] In analyzing the research institute's results and experiences, it is being shown how R&D could still contribute more to the implementation of our party's economic strategy. What role is played by top technologies; what is necessary for them to take hold? What does it mean to adapt to the standards of international markets and to customer preferences? How can research be made more dynamic, and how can we speed up the application of R&D data?

Collective Climate--Performance Readiness--Personality Development

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Klaus Glodde, economist, senior assistant, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 75-81]

> [Text] Intracollective relations greatly affect an individual's attitude and conduct, his personality development and his performance attitude. Analyzed mainly are the conditions for forming and reinforcing socialist collective relations and norms of conduct, their effects on personality development and performance attitudes; changes in the substance and rating of collective relations and norms in connection with enforcing scientific-technical progress and the higher demands made on performance; and the role of emulation and encouragements and impediments.

'International Terrorism' and Imperialist Confrontation Course

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Harry Klug, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 82-88]

[Text] This article comes to grips with design by the U.S. Administration to sharpen its confrontation course under the disguise of a struggle against "international terrorism" and change the tools of neocolonialism for the benefit of violence, terror and open complicity with terrorist regimes. The imperialist policy of threats and violence, aimed at the export of the counterrevolution and intensifying the danger of war, while also evoking the peoples' resistance, seeks an anticommunist "pacification" of the "third world" and the subversion of the alliance between socialism and the national liberation movement.

5885
CSO: 2300/179

JANUARY 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jan 82 p 4

[Brigitte Hering review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 1, January 1982, signed to press 9 December 1981, pp 1-112: "Classic Topic of Current Keen Interest." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] EINHEIT's January issue devotes 11 contributions to one of the classic topics of scientific communism, the universal inevitability of the socialist revolution and the construction of the new society.

Manfred Herold explains in his lead article why this subject in particular evokes the keenest interest today: More than ever before the enemy is directing his harassing fire against the basic principles of socialism. "The 'replacement' of the socialist revolution's universally valid laws is praised as a 'continuation of Marxism,' while the struggle for their consistent implementation, on the other hand, is snubbed as 'dogmatic adherence to something historically outdated.'"

In this respect the dialectic of the general and the specific plays a central role in most of the 11 contributions. Also with regard to methodology this dialectic has an effect. While Manfred Herold explains the objective inevitability of the leading role of the workers class and its party in the socialist revolution, Manfred Banaschek demonstrates this by taking the SED as an example.

Klaus Sorgenicht deals with the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist state as another basic question of the revolution. Claus Kroemke discusses the inseparable relationship between labor productivity and social progress. Gerd Friedrich explains why the socialist planned economy can prosper only on the basis of democratic centralism. Fritz Brock writes about the active role of the trade unions in our country and their trusting relations with the party. Other contributions deal, among other things, with the protection of socialism (by Herbert Scheibe), patriotism and internationalism in our literature (by Hans Koch), and the effectiveness of research (by Siegfried Schiller).

In addition to this important topic, this EINHEIT issue also offers the following interesting features: 'Consultation' ["How Do Party Organizations Promote 'Quality Work From the GDR'?" (pp 89-92), by Dr Ekkehard Boettger, economist, lecturer on industrial economics, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee;

and "Tasks of the Basic Organizations in the Communist Education of Schoolchildren" (pp 93-96), by Dr Detlef Pietzold, staff employee, SED Central Committee]; 'Information' ["Great Britain in Crisis" (pp 100-103), by Prof Dr Franz Knipping, editor, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]; 'Answers' ["What Significance is There in Drafting a UN Code of Conduct for Transnational Monopolies?" (pp 104-106), by Prof Dr Horst Heininger, economist, main department chief, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW)]; a book review [by Prof Dr Wilhelm Eildermann and Dr Horst Naumann, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; of book "Jugendjahre" (Early Years), by Franz Dahlem, published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1982; EINHEIT pp 107-109]; and a noteworthy report by Friedrich Richter on the Hegel symposium of the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College, 29-30 October 1981 ["Hegel's Dialectic as Theoretical Source of Historical Materialism" (pp 97-99), by Prof Dr Friedrich Richter, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee].

CSO: 2300/178

PREPARATIONS FOR 1983 LUTHER FESTIVITIES REPORTED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 18, 12 Feb 82 pp 5-6

['Facts and Figures' report by Press Office, Chairman, GDR Council of Ministers: "Luther Historic Sites in the GDR Well Prepared for the 1983 Jubilee." Translations of articles on related information are published under the heading: "Luther's Legacy Accepted for 'Socialist German National Culture,'" in JPRS 79591, 4 Dec 81, No 1948 of this series, pp 16-33]

[Text] 10 November 1983 will mark the 500th anniversary of the birthday of Martin Luther, one of the greatest sons of the German people. With a celebration in Luther's honor, the GDR and its citizens will pay tribute to his character and to the historical achievements accomplished by him. To mark the occasion of this anniversary the GDR Martin Luther Committee was established in 1980 under the chairmanship of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

The activities in the GDR celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther will include many political, scientific and cultural high points as well as church events in Berlin and in places where Luther lived and worked. The GDR Academy of Sciences and GDR universities have planned international colloquia and conferences. The Museum for German History and the National Gallery of Berlin are preparing appropriate exhibits. Publishing houses, theatres and orchestras, museums, art collections and art galleries, the movies, the press, radio and televsion will make their contributions to the festivities in honor of Martin Luther.

For the 1983 anniversary important national Luther sites will appear in dignified condition. Many specialists and thousands of citizens in the respective cities and communities have been working toward this goal with great personal efforts. Church committees are likewise fulfilling their responsibilities toward maintaining church monuments.

Martin Luther's birthplace in Eisleben is currently being restored. The house in Lutherstrasse is to be restored to its old beauty before the festivities on 10 November 1983 in honor of the 500th birthday of the important reformer, humanist and language artist. The restoration includes cleaning and preserving the remnants of a baroque painting on the ceiling of the "Beautiful Hall: in which carefully restored portraits of Luther and Melanchton as well as the Prince Electors of Saxony can be seen.

The work performed at Luther's birthplace is part of an extensive program of reconstruction and preservation for public use of several Luther sites in the GDR. With the help of scientific consultants and experienced craftsmen of the Institute for the Preservation of Monuments as well as numerous historians, art historians, architects, museologists etc. local authorities are supervising the carefully planned work on valuable single houses and housing complexes dating back to the 16th century. The purpose of this work is to preserve and restore the original setting of these sites while at the same time respecting the many restoration measures taken in previous centuries. Current restoration work is meant to enhance the effect and scientific significance of these monuments.

In Erfut extensive work is currently done on the Augustinian Monastery, one of the most important Luther sites in the GDR. Martin Luther joined the Augustinian Order in the Gothic monastery church in 1505. The church, built in the 14th century, and other monastery buildings were badly damaged by Anglo-American bombs in 1945. During the past decades major portions of the famous monastery complex have been reconstructed. In view of the Luther anniversary of 1983 the work is now concentrating on the goal of restoring the monastery as much as possible to its condition in Luther's time.

Much attention is also paid to the valuable stained-glass windows of the monastery church. Experts in monument preservation are cleaning the glass that has been considerably affected by exposure and are preserving it from further environmental effects. Similar work is done to the windows of Erfurt Cathedral where Luther was ordained a priest in 1507. This work was preceded by extensive scientific research on these valuable examples of medieval art.

Sites of special national and international significance are the cathedral and Augustinian Monastery in Erfurt, Wartburg Castle in Eisenach where, from 1521 to 1522, Luther disguised as "Junker Joerg" began his translation of the Bible into German and thereby completed one of the greatest cultural achievements of our history, the Augusteum, the National Luther Hall, the castle and castle church in Wittenberg, and other buildings connected with the life and work of Martin Luther. All of these are listed on the GDR Central Monument Register.

At Wartburg Castle, the legendary "singers' hall" with its valuable wall paintings by Moritz von Schwind (1804 to 1871) will soon be open to visitors from all over the world. Preservation work on the castle arcades, renovation of the castle facade, and the restoration of the large festival hall are also on the work program as well as the continuation of work on art and handicraft objects which belong to the Wartburg Foundation. The so-called Duerer Wardrobe, e.g., one of the chief examples of late Gothic furniture art, is presently in the restoration shop of the Berlin-Koepenick Artifacts Museum. Restoration work is also in progress on the colorful Elizabeth tapestry, on paintings, carvings and other objects. This fall, the work accomplished in this field is to be shown to the public during an international colloquium on the art of the Reformation era in Eisenach.

During the past months, extensive construction projects were completed at Luther sites in Wittenberg, e.g. at the St. Mary City Church. The Collegium

Augusteum of the former Wittenberg University received a fresh coat of paint. Expert roofers also completed their work. Not yet completed is the restoration work on and inside the Luther House.

In 1508 Luther was sent by his order, the Augustinian Hermits, to Wittenberg University. In Wittenberg, he lived at the Augustinian Monastery. He remained here also when the monastery was closed in 1522. Not until 1532 did the Prince Elector officially give the monastery to the reformer whose "room over the doorway, my poor little room," a monk's cell on the third floor, no longer exists. But there is still the living room on the second floor. Here originated, among others, the famous "table talks." This room has remained essentially unchanged over the centuries. In the early 16th century it was already called "Museum Lutheri."

For some time now, employees of the Historical Museum of the Reformation, which is part of the Luther House, have adapted their continual exhibits to the most recent findings. Next year, the exhibit will be reopened. It will include previously little known pictures, documents, printed papers and pamphlets and other documents from the time of the reformation and the German peasants' war which, taken as a whole, represents the first popular revolution in Germany.

Construction work on the Wittenberg Palace Church is also in full progress. The church is a remarkable example of how the 19th century practiced heritage and monument preservation. 100 years ago, the original form of the church was changed in many details in the process of reconstruction. In view of the anniversary, the Palace Church is now being redecorated; restoration work is also done on the "Theses Door" and on the 45 meter long and 2 meter high mosaic inscription that runs around the outside of the Palace Church steeple.

In addition to this work on important Luther sites in the GDR, the preservation program also includes restoration and preservation measures in Torgau. Years ago, the outside facade of Castle Hartenfels where Luther often stayed was restored, and soon the castle chapel will be restored. Luther had been influential in the interior decoration work of this chapel. Also planned is the restoration of the exterior facade of Torgau's Mary Church where Luther's wife, Katharina von Boar, is buried.

8889
CSO: 2300/154

BRIEFS

JASKIERNIA IN FRG--Bonn, 7 March--Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Youth, spoke on Sunday [7 March] at the 7th Congress of Socialist German Working Youth [SDAJ] in Dusseldorf. [By Zbigniew Ramotowski] [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Mar 82 p 4]

CSO: 2600/412

CRNOBRNJA URGES MORE DEMOCRACY IN PARTY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 82 SEDAM DANA p 9

[Interview with Bogdan Crnobrnja, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, by Ratomir Petkovic: "Why Are We Closing the Mouths Even of the Well-Intentioned?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Several more extremely important jobs arising out of the basic commitments to stabilization await the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly just before their term of office expires. We are referring above all to the announced changes in the country's medium-term plan, and then the adjustment of the country's payments balance and exchange balance, legislative activity and certainly the necessary summation of the experience gained.

That is the context of our interview with Bogdan Crnobrnja, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, a man who has had 8 years' experience as a delegate, long enough time for him to make an authoritative judgment of the functioning of the delegate system introduced by the 1974 Constitution. We took as our point of departure this statement by the subject of our interview: "On the basis of experience I have gained I have come to the conclusion that the functioning of the delegate system as conceived by the constitution calls for more democracy throughout society."

[Question] Could you elaborate on that?

[Answer] When there is not enough democracy, then the delegate system will have greater shortcomings than conventional electoral systems. When things are resolved in closed groups, when accountability is not public enough, then the delegate system objectively turns out to be weak, and conversely, when the atmosphere in the election of delegates is entirely democratic, when the accountability of the delegate for his work is democratic and public, when he is publicly responsible, including the right of recall, then this is the most superior form of social functioning and decisionmaking. I am in favor of the delegate system in those terms, and if it is to work better, I repeat, we must have more democracy.

Openly Concerning Errors

[Question] How are those processes to be initiated?

[Answer] First, we must start with the leading political force. Without the leading political force and its democratic profile there can be no democracy in society. Democracy is just as democratic and democratic in the same way as the leading political force in society.

[Question] Are you thinking of democracy in the League of Communists?

[Answer] Yes, above all in the League of Communists, without which, since it is the leading political force, it is not possible to perform those large revolutionary tasks which have to mark in historic terms the transition of a small portion of humanity (referred to as Yugoslavia) into something new that the world has not known up to now--a society of free men and free masters of their destiny. It is for that reason that there must be a revolutionary political force capable in every respect, in terms of ideology, morality and political organization. That role must be taken over by the League of Communists, developing universal public ties and dialogues, without sectarianism, including all forces capable of action.

[Question] How is the League of Communists performing its role in those terms today?

[Answer] Perhaps my opinion will be too critical, but I must explain that it would be extremely erroneous for someone to suppose that I underestimate or ignore what has been achieved. On the contrary, I am aware of our large achievements and I do see them, but that is not enough. At the same time I also see our shortcomings, which have prevented those achievements from being much greater. The goal is for us to move forward faster and more effectively. We need to say openly what is good and what is not.

[Question] What in your judgment is not good?

[Answer] When the discussion turns to the League of Communists, then we should first speak about our own errors. We do not speak enough about that, and that from the primary organization of the LC [League of Communists] to the highest forums of the party. And when we do, then we speak in terms that are too general, and it is worth little. Take, for example, the party congresses. I have the feeling that we are going about the preparations in a rather routine way. It is not that kind of situation, however. The situation requires of us that we work differently, democratically.

[Question] Do you think that we ought to be much more specific in the preparations?

[Answer] These discussions being conducted concerning the bylaws, democratic centralism or rotation, and then the discussions about whether it is a mass party or is not a mass party--those are rather secondary issues. Let the man who is prepared for action be a member of the party, and let reality and experience decide whether there will be 1 million or 2 million members. As for rotation, rotation from one position to another that is just the same is not very convincing, and I am afraid there will be a great deal of that. In relative terms we speak about that a great deal, there are more important topics.

[Question] What is decisive to a strengthening of the League of Communists?

[Answer] The most important thing is ideological unity and capacity for action based on that. People who are in favor of that unity, in favor of what we have agreed on democratically, people who are prepared to carry out what has been agreed on in a different way, let such people be members of the League of Communists if they desire. Since many people are doing that same thing, but they do not want to be members of the LC. We need a political organization or mechanism which will lead toward self-management. That cannot be debated. As the self-managers become competent, there will be less and less need for the party to insist on this or that. The political mechanism will become something new, something not known up to now.

Unsuccessful Confrontation

[Question] However, as though we are letting up a little in achieving the goals which have been set, in stabilization, for example?

[Answer] Aside from what I have said, I am not satisfied with the effects of stabilization nor with its pace. I do not say that there have not been results. But it seems to me that the tasks of stabilization ought to be more in the focus of our preoccupations. We ought to have that issue much more frequently in our plenums, to see what party members are doing, what they have omitted to do, and what they should do. That would be the best preparation for the congresses. I am afraid that we will arrive at the congress and we will not get from them what, along with many people, we expect, more precisely, I am afraid that these will be gatherings which will affirm the League of Communists and its role.

[Question] One of the reasons why we talk so much about the League of Communists is because of its role in the development and advancement of the delegate system.

[Answer] It is clear that the contribution and political support to the delegate system, to executive bodies and assembly bodies, follows from what I have said about the place and role of the League of Communists. On the basis of the consensus and agreement achieved on the most essential and vital issues through discussions the League of Communists should issue guidelines and indeed even directives to its membership, and anyone who does not carry them out cannot remain in the LC. We have to do this if we want to continue in the same direction.

[Question] And not uncommonly this is lacking, so that a feeling of being left to oneself is thereby engendered?

[Answer] Exactly so. I am not appealing for any sort of overbearing attitude, that is, for a daily transmission of directives. Incidentally, no one has stood in the way of us delegates, not even the comrades who are members of the party, from making a greater and more militant effort, from showing more initiative and making more proposals, but the voting and the raising of hands seems to be a bit resigned in the style of follow the leader; that is, since others have voted that way, that is what I will do, too.

[Question] Is that an expression of lackadaisicalness or a consequence of uncertainty in making decisions and the belief that it is not possible to have an influence on things?

[Answer] I would rather think the latter is involved. I draw this conclusion because there have been attempts by delegates to oppose certain solutions, but in the end this was unsuccessful. A different decision was taken, and the delegates have provided formal confirmation to a considerable extent. In the absence of a democratic dialogue opposition to this kind of practice can be taken the wrong way, and a man risks being called a caviler or a sniper.

[Question] What is the basis for that conclusion of yours?

[Answer] I have been struck by recent statements by certain of our officials which practically preclude any criticism. I do not agree with such statements. We should call upon those who are in favor of socialism, a self-managed and federal Yugoslavia and the equality of its nationalities and ethnic minorities to be still more outspoken and to advise us and help us to become still better. In certain statements made against criticism we are closing the mouths even of the well-intentioned. We need to change those habits and allow more criticism. Why should we fear criticism if we are carrying on a good effort? It is not exactly an attractive situation when as soon as someone does not agree with some official position he risks being called unsuitable. Translated into political language, this means: we need more democracy, which, to be sure, has been felt more and more in the recent past.

Excessively Large Administrative Staff

[Question] Do you think that there ought to be certain changes in the party administrative staff and in the overall organization of the League of Communists?

[Answer] Yes. Though I recently noticed the news item that the number of employed personnel in the League of Communists has not been growing as rapidly as in the government administration, I feel that it is excessive. All those professionals, and there are also quite a few of them in the Federation of Trade Unions and in other organizations, are actually living outside self-management, and in the material sense they are altogether independent. They do not feel the consequences if self-management does not develop. Their role and work do not depend in the least on what happens in self-management. The supposition is that they ought to be promoting self-management, and that from certain academic positions and positions outside self-management, instead of their being within authentic self-management itself, there where self-managing is actually taking place. However, this requires an altogether different organization. One that is more appropriate to the ideological and political goals, and in VJESNIK I recently read an article entitled "Forums and Organs of the LCY--Without Change"!

[Question] What sort of organization?

[Answer] The present organization is excessively institutionalized and rather cumbersome and rigid, and precisely because a good number of very influential and capable people are there, I feel a weakness in that communication and between the life of self-management and that sitting in separate offices where analyses and conclusions are then arrived at. I would prefer if it were different, that is, if the people were in self-management itself and were furnishing initiative from there for discussion and for adoption of the agendas of plenums, while the staff of party committees would, of course, be essentially reduced, and would only prepare the meeting. What we have now is like some government with executive secretaries for various sectors, with their aides, and so on. People who are not in the stream of production and the other streams of social self-management are the ones insisting on the vital topics of self-management. Of course, this then influences the position of the trade unions in the delegate system and all the rest.

[Question] What should be essentially changed here?

[Answer] The basic thing is to pass on decisionmaking concerning general public problems, economic problems in particular, to the people in production, that is, how to weaken the state.

[Question] The trends, however, are different?

[Answer] Unfortunately, the moment is such that the state is becoming stronger. The circumstances that have come about and in which we live have been working in that direction. We have not been resolute in carrying out degovernmentalization, and have thereby slowed down affirmation of the producers as the principal factor in decisionmaking on reproduction. Meanwhile we still do not see a sufficiently clear and decisive concrete orientation to pass on decisionmaking to the workingman more quickly. In this respect the League of Communists must change. This is the cardinal issue in the development of self-management socialism. A very great deal has been said about this up to now, but relatively little has been done.

[Question] We are witnesses to certain difficulties. How much of this is transitional in nature, that is, specific to the present level of our development, and how much threatens to take firm hold?

[Answer] It is true that there are transitional problems; however, there is also a tendency not to let power leave one's hand and not to turn it over into the hands of the working class and the working people. This reluctance is tough and will not allow itself to be removed so easily. This will have to be accomplished by pressure. Our congresses ought to do at least something in that direction.

[Question] Where is power most concentrated?

[Answer] In the presidiums of the central committees and certain other corresponding parts of the republics and provinces. There is also something in the Federation, but at the level of the opstina there is a tough concentration of power. Usually it is a tie-up of someone from the opstina government, the committee and similar points. If there are no deliberate actions to weaken that power, this will remain a permanent situation which could even get worse.

Uncritical Planning

[Question] To what extent is this situation having an impact on delegate decisionmaking, for example, concerning planning?

[Answer] As a member of two convocations of the Yugoslav Assembly since the delegate system was introduced I have participated in adopting two medium-term plans, and I can say that these are the poorest planning documents adopted since we became a socialist society. We were overambitious, we were not sufficiently mindful of real possibilities.

[Question] How did this uncritical planning come about?

[Answer] It came about because decisionmaking concerning plans and the manner in which they were adopted conflicted with the proclaimed policy. They are the principal source of our economic difficulties. We have to free ourselves of the manner in which we have adopted plans up to now.

[Question] Changes are about to be made in the plan; what course will that take?

[Answer] I am not overoptimistic. It is still being said that the present plan is the only alternative, but since the difficulties have come about, it is said, we have to narrow it. That will not be of much help. We should draw up several alternative plans and conduct a public discussion of them. The way it is now, the plans will be corrected by those who adopted them, and since everyone regards the plan as his offspring, he will take it as a personal affront if there are quite a few changes and if the changes are radical.

[Question] It is often stressed in the criticism that these are the plans of states and not of associated labor?

[Answer] Noneconomic factors have had a dominant role in adoption of plans. We have dressed things up in some nice-sounding terms, and we refer to the states as sociopolitical communities. It is true that the term "state" is too narrow and not altogether appropriate, but the plans are their work. Take, for example, how nice the term "social compact" sounds, but when one analyzes who has participated, then it is evident that it was a few people from the executive staffs of the republics and provinces. Here and there some of the influential people were consulted, and then we call this a social compact. What it is, however, is an agreement among our states to the greatest degree.

[Question] It has been remarked that we are slow to reach agreement. What is the reason for that; are there objective circumstances or something else?

[Answer] Experience demonstrates that we have a hard time and are slow in reaching agreement. The principal reason lies in the principals in the process of agreement. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the reaching of agreement would go faster and would be more successful if we altered what I would call its class character.

[Question] What do you mean by that?

[Answer] If the working class and the working people were put in the position of clearly knowing how much their income depends on the work they do, how they develop and plan, then they would quickly find a common language, more easily than any other social structure. Our problems can be resolved most easily and speedily by passing on that great responsibility to the workingman. I would be very happy if in the plenums and the congresses we were more concerned with how to do this.

7045
CSO: 2800/296

ARGUMENTS OVER NOMINATION LISTS FOR ELECTIONS ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1624, 14 Feb 82 pp 14-15, 17

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Change the Slate"]

[Text] The newspapers have recorded a plethora of election news these past days, but only some of the items are dramatic in tone. We record them without taking into account the regional distribution, persuaded that our shortcomings are common to us all.

In Arilje the proposed slate of candidates for the opstina committee was "revised," in Vrsac the incumbent committee secretary and the chairman of the opstina conference of the LC [League of Communists] "did not get by." One of the things that disturbed people and moved them to undertake a counteraction in Velika Plana, as shown by an investigation by our colleague Svetozar Polic, was the following passage in GLAS POMORAVLJA: "Judging by practice to date, the personnel poll was strictly limited. Reliance, that is, was put only on certain circles which by a certain set of circumstances recirculated, holding to the same trusted people, chosen and tested people, the only ones capable of key posts in terms of general culture, professional knowledge, fundamental Marxist education and clear commitment." Someone recognized himself.

Though it is not typical, even this round of elections did not pass without notorious opstina cases of which there were quite a few at the beginning of the last decade. There are ever more frequent demands that the man holding the key position must be morally unblemished and better than the average citizen.

One of the bizarre examples was reported in Pristina. There, as we have written previously, it was discovered that certain citizens had not been paying for electricity, water or rent. The chairman of the opstina committee announced that a list of those people would be made public. M. Daci, a member of the BORBA staff, who learned that the list included certain officeholders, ended his report with the sentence that when all that becomes public it would not be very likely that confidence would be shown in certain of the nonpayers who occupy various positions....

What was the character of the reaction of the voters in the first round of the party elections? Let us examine in a little more detail the facts from these various election conflicts as seen by our collaborators on this occasion, correspondents of POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES: Each of these cases captures in an interesting way some of the critical points: inactivity, usurpation and shortcomings of kitchens in which lists of personnel are made up.

One of the primary organizations of the LC in Vinkovci, in rejecting the nominations for opstina party bodies of leadership, also said that it could not accept a structure in which directors themselves and other professional managers could no longer be members of party forums as individuals and as members of the party. This is a recurring motif.

How Many Can There Be?

Even in the largest organization in Baranja, the Belje Combine, certain party organizations did not concur with the proposed slate. Party members of the Jelen Hunting and Forest Preserve in Baranja did not reject the slate, but they protested because not a single one of the candidates whom they had recommended was on the committee's list. Someone in the committee, making reference to the LC Bylaws, had replaced those proposed by the basic organizations with two party members from Jelen without the knowledge and consent of the party members of that work organization.

They are therefore calling upon their delegates on Saturday, 13 February, at the opstina conference of the LC for election purposes, to demand that the people previously nominated be included among the candidates for the new committee.

In the old days it was "everyone cast his vote by 0800 hours." It seems the times are changing. Many people expect these elections to shake certain centers of power, to create conditions for moral renewal and economic stabilization.

The era of great personnel changes will not bypass a single segment of our social life: elections in the League of Communists are still going on, delegate elections are entering their final phase, and it just happens that the term of office is expiring for many directors and members of workers' councils, and the trade union elections are approaching. What change can be made? How will possible changes be carried out, with conflicts and a funeral or in a constructive atmosphere? Answers are coming in day by day. They need to decoded.

Election time can also be a relevant indicator of the situation in our society. When decisions are being made concerning people, passions and interests are more difficult to control. In that kind of atmosphere it is logical for exchanges over guilty parties and responsibility to be stormier.

Last year we had two interesting "opstina cases," similar and different--Krusevac and Kragujevac. Public opinion and above all party members in primary organizations of the LC had a significant role in the shattering of those opstina concentrations of power. An imposing large-scale politicization was recorded and should probably be encouraged elsewhere as well. News has come in just recently from Kragujevac and Krusevac that workers from the largest and most important collectives have been nominated secretaries of the presidiums of the opstina committees: in Kragujevac Zoran Ognjanovic, highly skilled worker of [Crvena] Zastava, and in Krusevac Zoran Djurkovic, a skilled worker of the October 14th enterprise. That is one of the epilogues. The real one will be a reflection of the times.

Radovan Medjedovic, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, has called attention these past few days to unwholesome things in advance of the elections. He recalled that back in 1977 the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee note [original reads "made"] "quite strong manifestation of personal ambitions, careerism, factionalism, cliquishness, imputation, demagogic slogans, numerous intrigues and gossiping in order to discredit certain people in politics, the juggling of personnel in restricted informal units and attempts to impose such solutions on organs of the League of Communists...."

It is hardly likely that this diagnosis applies only to Vojvodina. In the recent past we have had opportunity to hear similar observations from many political rostrums: at the republic conference of the SAWP of Montenegro and the republic council of the Federation of Montenegrin Trade Unions almost the same sentence was uttered to the effect that "intrigues in the corridors and petty political machinations, careerism, sectarianism, subjectivism and privatization have to be prevented...."

How does this look in practice?

As described by Jovica Danilovic, POLITIKA correspondent in Vrsac, the now former leadership of the opstina organization of the League of Communists in Vrsac, and indeed even those who in the opinion of many have for years desired or succeeded in "doing as they pleased" have received a real dressing down from the electorate.

Certain names were erased from the slate of candidates to the bodies of leadership in the opstina organization, and delegates to a meeting of the electoral conference of the League of Communists decided that Milan Bakic, previous chairman of the opstina conference, and Bozo Jaksic, secretary of the opstina committee, not be elected to the new opstina committee. This is a precedent. The most frequent criticism: Why always the same people?

Open Ballot and Secret Ballot

The most frequently contested individuals: Milan Bakic, chairman of the opstina conference of the League of Communists, and then Bozidar Struza, secretary of the opstina committee during the previous term of office, Stevan Paunovic, former chairman of the opstina trade union council, and Bozo Jaksic, until now secretary of the opstina committee in Vrsac.

Some indication of the kind of atmosphere that prevails is the fact that in a meeting of the opstina conference a week before the electoral conference it was stated among other things that the stories about the physical showdown between Milan Bakic and Bozidar Struza, with whom even primary organizations of the League of Communists had been concerned in their meetings, were actually a fabrication and originated in well-known sources in Vrsac (the "sources" have remained anonymous). There were, it seems, also cases of digging up old crimes: the opstina committee and personnel commission established that the committee secretary Bozo Jaksic was not to blame for having signed a bill of exchange for which there was no coverage in the collective of Utva's plant in Vrsac where he was employed before taking up that post. Jaksic is not morally and politically accountable, since at the time when he signed the bill he was led into error and did not know that other possibilities existed, it was said.

In spite of the position of the opstina committee and the personnel commission that the proposed slate ought not to be halted essentially, changes did occur in some 10 cases in the meeting of the conference.

A week later, in a marathon meeting of the electoral conference of the League of Communists in Vrsac which lasted 9.5 hours something unexpected happened. After many discussions of the delegates and the views expressed to the effect that Milan Bakic and Bozo Jaksic be dropped from the slate for the opstina committee, a lengthy and unpleasant explanation by delegates of both convocations of the conference and of the oversight commission and bylaws commission was organized. Bakic and Jaksic remained on the slate nevertheless. However, in the secret ballot on the slate for the opstina committee Bakic and Jaksic received fewer votes than any other of the 58 candidates. In order to avoid a complicated procedure, the decision was made to reduce the number of members of the committee to 56.

It is interesting that in the meeting it was not stated either in the introductory address or in the later discussions by the leaders who was to blame for the situation that had come about. This was stated only a few days ago (3 February) in a meeting of the opstina committee. It has been established that the initial slate was drawn up by Milan Bakic, former chairman of the opstina conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina in Vrsac, and the action of the former opstina committee and personnel commission, who accepted that list, was also censured. Yet it is difficult to believe that Bakic was really all alone in drawing up that slate.

Our colleague Djordje Pilcevic, POLITIKA correspondent, followed the stormy discussions on the slates of possible candidates to make up the new opstina committee of the LC in Arilje. In the drawing up of the slate for organs in the LC the personnel commission and opstina committee of the LC stated in a letter sent to party organizations that their "point of departure had been the class-oriented nature of personnel policy."

However, a majority of the party organizations were not satisfied with the proposed slate of 45 candidates. The proposed members of the committee, it was judged in certain basic organizations of the LC, represented a committee of officeholders, directors and educationists. That is, the slate of 45 candidates included 19 enterprise directors and officeholders, and there were 7 educationists among the delegates, while only 5 farmers had been nominated, though this is a farming opstina. One rural basic organization of the LC objected that there was no commission for rural affairs and agriculture among the nine proposed commissions of the opstina conference of the LC!

Serious criticism was also heard because four enterprise directors and three officeholders were nominated to the presidium, which has 11 members, while there was only one nominee from direct production and one farmer. In certain basic organizations. [Sic]

The case of Ljuba Lukic, who was nominated both to the new committee and as a delegate to the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia is an interesting one. By contrast with the committee and its personnel commission, which regard Lukic as a worker in direct production, party members of the Sieve and Bearing Factory regard their colleague as a talleyman who sits in an office and wields a pencil! The party members nominated the young worker Nikola Petronijevic in his place.

Milisav Stojadinovic, chairman of the opstina conference of the LC, with whom we spoke recently concerning the slate of candidates, feels that the objections which have come from the electorate were justified and that the committee and personnel commission will bear them in mind when the final slate is drawn up. He confirmed to us at this time that this had been indicated to them by the Titovo Uzice Interopstina Conference of the LC. It is an indicative fact that production people reacted the same way as we on the interopstina committee, says Radisa Gacic, chairman of the Titovo Uzice Interopstina Conference. This can be interpreted as a sign of the political maturity of the "base."

Without awaiting the end of the discussion in all primary organizations of the LC, the opstina committee and personnel commission took up the objections which had come in on 1 February and made up a new slate according to which the new opstina committee of the LC would include 18 workers from direct production, 7 farmers, 4 engineers and technicians, 3 administrative workers, 11 supervisory workers and 1 educationist and 1 pensioner. There was also a change in the proposed list for the presidium of the committee, on which there will be five workers from direct production, three supervisory workers and one engineer, one pensioner and one farmer.

Producers in the Majority

It appears that this demand for a "producer majority" on committees of the LC has encountered massive support elsewhere as well. In any case the statistics show that up to now workers have comprised 30 percent of opstina committees, that same proportion of republic and provincial committees, and about 10 percent in the Central Committee of the LCY.

Budimir Vukasinovic, a man for whom the elections are a "job duty" in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, forecast in an informal interview to check out the reporter's impressions, running the risk of not being absolutely accurate because the analyses of the first round of the elections are not complete, said that the "producer majority" (workers, peasants, with a certain addition of engineers and technicians who work in production shops) would most probably prevail in the opstina committees of the League of Communists. He took the example of the Kraljevo region to show that workers comprise 39.3 percent and farmers about 14 percent of the nominees. This is something new. Until now the peasants were neglected, at least as far as the number of "their" members of the LC in bodies of leadership was concerned.

A certain correction of injustice can be expected in the election of women, and the balance among the age groups is something new. The sentence "there is a shortage of women and young people" has been repeated for a long time, and there have also been critical remarks to the effect that one sex and at least one or two age groups are missing in our politics. This is that first feeling of the pulse.

Judging by the first freewheeling diagnoses, Vukasinovic says, the elections have not been marked by witch-hunting nor a pinning of blame in spite of certain short circuits. Conflicts are not the characteristic feature of elections at present. The impressions of this politician and others who attended meetings in enterprises and local communities during the election campaign indicate a "very serious critical attitude." By and large the criticism is turned inward, but there have also been "references" to the behavior of individuals. The emphasis in the criticism, it seems, has been mainly directed toward topics which have already been raised: exclusiveness, obtaining production supplies, difficulties related to inflation. Certain people note that the tones are somewhat fiercer in local communities than among producers.

One new observation, and certainly an important one if it proves to be accurate, we heard from Dragoljub Dragosan, chairman of the interopstina committee of Zajecar region (Radisa Gacic, his counterpart in the Titovo Uzice region, agrees with him to some extent): increasingly frequent mention is made of the belief that the "conventional" positions of the president of the opstina and the committee secretary are not the only important ones, the list of these, so to speak, important places is getting longer, which, if it is not a sign of democratization, is at least a sign of some distribution of power. A second observation indicates a certain falling off the scramble for official position. One politician says that the 1-year term of office will probably eliminate prestige as a motive along the lines of "I will do something they will remember me for." Interruption of professional advancement to hold office is objectively a handicap for those who are not planning a career exclusively in politics. If these observations are correct, perhaps a "Copernican revolution" is quietly taking place, one which is certainly desirable for our situation, so that the channels of social advancement become more effective on a professional than on a political basis. If they are accurate.

Rade Subotic, POLITIKA correspondent, investigated an interesting case which sheds its own kind of light on the topic--"Where To Go After the Term of Office Expires."

One primary organization of the League of Communists in Beli Manastir, which is in Baranja, has openly called for all sociopolitical leaders whose term of office is now expiring to return to the jobs they came from. They did not mention anyone's name specifically. Stipe Skeledzija, a delegate of the first primary organization of the LC in Beli Manastir, submitted the demand of his organization. Franjo Adler, secretary of the Beli Manastir Opstina Committee of the LC, who objected vigorously, said that Comrade Stipe ought to know as a delegate who starts such recommendations and demands and with what intentions, concluding "I suppose those individuals do not think that at the end of our term of office we should go back to herding sheep?" Skeledzija explained in his answer to the excited secretary that this is the position of their organization of the LC and not of an individual and that he as a delegate is passing it on.

"I do not know why Comrade Adler, secretary of the opstina committee, is angry. We did not mention anyone's name, we merely said that the time has come to return to the jobs they came from. This was said by some 20 party members in the first primary organization. It is quite clear that the comrade committee secretary, who came from commerce, would go back to the work organization Dunav which he left 8 years ago to become secretary," we were told by Bogoljub Dzambas of the first primary organization of the LC in Beli Manastir.

Our colleague Subotic, who published a report on the preelection events in Baranja some time ago in POLITIKA, called Comrade Adler, secretary of the opstina committee of the LC in Beli Manastir, on the telephone to propose an interview for NIN on the topic "Where To Go at the End of the Term of Office." Comrade secretary again became very angry and issued a threat that there must be no further writing about him. And in so doing he threatened and referred to prestigious figures and institutions....

"You come and see me for a talk and I will tell you and those like you what I think about you," were the threatening words from the mouth of the secretary over the telephone lines. He seems to have taken offense.

Incidentally, the newspapers are full of demands for return to production.

[Box, p 15]

Precedents

Party members at the Electronics Industry in Nis have been making demands in meetings that they participate in drawing up the final slates of candidates. This is interpreted in the opstina committee as an attempt at "partnership." After talks they withdrew this demand, as reported by POLITIKA correspondent M. Cosic.

In Subotica the presidium of the opstina council of trade unions called for members of the executive committee of trade unions in the "Transportation" OOUR [Basic Organization of Associated Labor] to submit their resignation, proclaiming them coresponsible for the situation in that collective. As far as we know, this is the first case of calling for the accountability of an entire trade union leadership.

7045
CSO: 2800/280

SUVAR DEFENDS KRLEZA AGAINST CRITICS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Stipe Suvar: "The Shameless Dirty Work of Petty Politicians"]

[Text] In the meeting of the committee Dr Stipe Suvar submitted for adoption the decision establishing the Committee for Preserving the Name and Work of Miroslav Krleza. The members of the 15-man committee, whose proceedings would be governed by the rules adopted, would include Marijan Matkovic, member of the academy (chairman of the committee), Bogdan Tomasic, Enes Cengic, Dr Stipe Suvar, Anica Magasic, Hasan Grabcanovic, Andjelko Malinar, Veseljko Velcic, Ljubica Blazevic, Goran Babic, Josip Marotti, Dusko Roksandic, Pero Budak, Ismet Kreso and Branko Juricevic.

In supporting the choice of members of the committee, Dr Stipe Suvar mentioned that the choice was made according to the tasks which confront the committee and in line with Krleza's will, which was read on Thursday in the probate hearing. Suvar took a very polemical line toward certain deplorable things which have occurred since Krleza's death and said in part:

Reckless Allusions

"A month ago I expressed concern, not only in my own personal name, about certain actions by various mischiefmakers and petty politicians who, it seems, were waiting for Krleza's death to take him up as a standard-bearer of 'freedom' against the revolutionary party to which he belonged and at the same time to portray him as a man who lowered his banner to half-mast in our period of socialism.

"Unfortunately, the petty bourgeois and radical freedomlovers, various petition-signing intellectuals, and euphoric antiparty barbarians have continued this shameless dirty work of theirs day after day, all in the name of the late Krleza and especially his 'Dialectical Antibarbarus.'

"The editor of KNJIZEVNOST sent us word that that journal had published 'Antibarbarus,' since Krleza's work is not being treated as the work of a classic writer who is no longer alive, but as the work of a living contemporary who waged a battle throughout his life for the autonomy of poetry and against all dogmas, and so on. Now it was nice of him to be concerned about that. After all, we are all in favor of Miroslav Krleza being a living contemporary. And he will be that for decades and centuries in the future regardless of the solicitude of the magazine KNJIZEVNOST. Nevertheless, why did that editor wait for Krleza to die to bring out 'Antibarbarus,' for which the type had been set in advance, and that in No 3 for March 1982, which appeared in the very first days of January? Why is it that KNJIZEVNOST did not reprint that piece while Krleza was alive? Are the intentions involved truly pure and noble?

"The editor of KNJIZEVNOST immediately tried to discredit those of us who have called attention to this speculative move. Nor in his reckless allusions and direct attributions did he spare even one Marko Ristic, who is the first to protest with a dignified bitterness the action taken by the journal KNJIZEVNOST. He called the man who was with Krleza the most over these last 10 years, who edited some 20 volumes of his collected works and whom Krleza authorized in his will to decide every publication and use of his works as long as he lives, a valet. He put me in the category of high-level bureaucrats in the field of culture, which is perhaps the case, but I am also presumably something else, and he places himself among writers, though I do not know on what basis, since he is more familiar to me as a high-level bureaucrat for many years in a literary organization.

"But none of that is important. The important thing is what is at issue here: He and his ilk moved into action as soon as Krleza died in order to set him in opposition to the CPY (LCY), to which he belonged from its establishment and under whose banner he was buried. Marko Ristic, and recently Petar Stambolic, and we others have been raising our voices against these intentions of the petty bourgeois intellectuals. And that is the essence of the dispute which in Krleza's name and with references to him, now that he is gone, it seems will continue, just as that dispute was conducted, incidentally, during his life. It is just that now when he is gone the petty bourgeois intellectuals are more reckless; they have gone aggressively on the offensive, and as they appeal to Krleza and proclaim him to be right, they are at the same time spitting on him."

"Antibarbarus" Under Attack

"Not in the least is the issue that of printing or not printing 'Dialectical Antibarbarus.' Even that well-known polemical document of Krleza's will be printed many times, as will all his other works. And the appeal in multicolored DUGA [RAINBOW] for the most urgent reprinting of 'Antibarbarus' in the languages of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities is really ridiculous, 'as far as Krleza's nationality is concerned.'

"Some pretext was needed for some of our freedomlovers to use even the late Krleza in their struggle for the freedom of their thought and for derision and branding of everyone who dares even to doubt their love for freedom and to suspect their ideas.

"In NIN on 24 January fun was made of Krleza's desire that 'Antibarbarus' not be published without comment belongs 'to the oral portion of Krleza's written will.' Even KOMUNIST (edition for SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, 22 January) proclaims the smuggling of that document in KNJIZEVNOST 'undoubtedly a red-letter day in our periodical journalism.'

"Recently in the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade four members of our petition-signing and oppositionist intelligentsia, which is fortunately not numerous, but is everywhere evident in our press and in the public atmosphere, filed a great many assertions concerning Krleza and concerning his 'Antibarbarus' that are more than symptomatic.

"One of them was to the effect that Krleza supposedly did not at one time allow that document to be printed, saying: 'It is not possible, since I do not want to go to the slammer.' Probably he himself gave in. Speaking in the context of the meeting between Tito and Krleza in Sestine in 1939, the same spokesman says: 'Printed or not, a piece like "Dialectical Antibarbarus" has been educational for all people fighting against dogmas, regardless of whether Krleza himself persisted in that struggle or lowered his banners to half-mast.' (See KNJIZEVNA REC, 10 February 1982, page 8) Still the same spokesman knows quite well that Krleza way back in 1939 'was among those European intellectuals who had found out all about the tread of policemen's boots in the advance of the revolutionary masses.'"

They Want To Set Up Krleza in Opposition to the Party

"At that session in the Student Cultural Center it was said of the polemics in 1939 between Krleza and his opponents that this was a struggle between two lines: the truth or a lie, and that Krleza was opposed to the prevailing ideology in the party. And that ideology was, according to our interpreters, Stalinistic, and so on, and so on.

"Incidentally, we have had an opportunity long ago to read all this in the book 'Sukob na knjizevnoj ljevici' [Conflict on the Literary Left]. Now after Krleza's death there is merely a revival with more ferocity of the dirty work of the little group of radical and freedomloving intellectuals who would like to set Krleza in opposition to the party and to portray the party as hopelessly Stalinistic on the eve of the revolution, during it and up to this very day. In the name of Krleza's advocacy of the freedom of creativity those great figures of our revolution who clashed with the dogmatists and Stalinists in 1939 and laid down their lives for freedom as our national heroes are themselves proclaimed dogmatists and Stalinists.

"And what is one to answer when a man who in Moscow after 1948 put himself at the service of the Cominform campaign for a long time is appealed to as a witness concerning the meetings long ago between Tito and Krleza, even if it were only a matter of sorting out the data in the archives? All of this is shameless.

"This committee has not been conceived as either a body of censors, nor a body who is supposed to care for someone else's soul. It will, I hope, be a committee of goodwill, one which will endeavor to collaborate constructively with all those who really want the great work of the poet of our revolution, Miroslav Krleza, to be alive and as accessible as possible to all our people and our youth. It will strive to encourage, to propose, and to organize both meetings and discussions, it will see to it that the Krleza workshop gets going, that his memory is preserved in museums, on the streets, in monuments, and most of all it will strive so that his written and spoken word, his message, accompanies us everywhere."

7045
CSO: 2800/283

CROATIAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES DISSIDENTS IN MEDIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 82 p 5

[Interview with Milan Rakas, member of the presidia of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY and the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP, by Milan Jaksic: "The Supply of Information Is Not Anyone's Birthright"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The rather heated debates concerning the media which have been taking place over more or less the entire area of Yugoslavia and the Law on the Information System which has just been passed in our republic were the reasons for the interview with Milan Rakas, member of the presidia of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY and the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP.

[Question] There has been a great deal of hullabaloo in recent months concerning public information. It is certain that there were major reasons preceding it, and we know by and large what those reasons were. However, newsmen are talking these days about the phenomenon of occasional or what is referred to as step-by-step criticism, of occasional vociferous reactions to certain articles of debatable content, to a kind of campaign whose characteristics we have noted already. How do you look upon this occasional pattern of reaction?

Half-Truths and Untruths About Our Revolution

Milan Rakas: I would say that we are dealing above all with an occasional major lapse on the part of personnel in editorial offices, which is why major oversights are occurring. That is the main reason for the more resolute reactions on the part of political leadership bodies to those oversights. I will repeat something which I wrote recently in an article of mine: if nothing bad had happened in recent months in the media except what happened in "features" departments, when a majority of the media engaged in almost a competition to see who would be completely uncritical in passing on and passing off more of Vladimir Dedijer's half-truths and untruths about our revolution, that would be sufficient reason for the sociopolitical leadership bodies to react resolutely and critically to the editorial policy of the media. But even in the most recent past there have been incomprehensible things in certain of our newspapers which we dare not pass over in silence. How could we fail to react, for example, to the fact that VECERNJE NOVOSTI, the newspaper which has the largest circulation and which was established by the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, launched the thesis on 8 February of this year that Draza Mihailovic is one of the most tragic figures in our history. NOVOSTI, through the mouth of Milan Puzic, who plays the role of Draza Mihailovic in the play "The Last Act," says, and I quote:

"General Draza Mihailovic is one of the most tragic figures in our history. I had to understand that tragic figure as both a man and an artist if that was to be understood and accepted. Just as many of us have often made bad choices in life through 'errors'--beginning with marriage, say, and extending all the way to professional activity--there are also people who have made the wrong choices in the historical context...."

War Criminal--"A Little Stray Sheep"

So, the ideologist and organizer of the Chetnik movement, a war criminal, one of the greatest traitors of the Serbian people, the commander in chief of butchers, is portrayed according to this thesis as a "kind of little stray sheep" who made a wrong choice in the historical context. It is difficult to understand how the actor Puzic can in his role perceive Draza Mihailovic in that way. But it is doubly unacceptable and impermissible for the editors of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, a news and political periodical of ours which has so much influence, to publish in its pages that kind of thesis concerning Draza Mihailovic, and that immediately before a meeting of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance in which unwholesome things in the media were being debated.

Incidentally, I must say that anyone who carefully follows all that has been happening in the media since the resolutions of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance concerning the tasks of the SAWP in informing the public (the meeting was held in 1979) will have to conclude and agree that the assertion cannot be true that we are dealing with step-by-step criticism or merely with campaign-type reactions to certain debatable articles or broadcasts of debatable content. I must remind you that in the Resolutions of the Federal Conference, taking as our point of departure the stands taken by the 11th LCY Congress and the constitutional provisions concerning the role of information as an integral part of the political system of socialist self-management, we set--if it can be put that way--the Socialist Alliance long-term tasks in the steady development of the role in socialist self-management of all forms of information, the media in particular.

It is understandable that performance of these important tasks also includes waging a constant struggle against all those unwholesome things in the media which are directly contrary to the development of our system of socialist self-management. That is why we dare not equate the more frequent debates about the information system in sociopolitical leadership bodies with the reactions of individuals to certain articles and broadcasts which they do not like--for certain personal reasons and because of their taste, but we must take those debates in the leadership bodies as a part of the efforts of all the organized forces to put the public periodicals in the front fighting ranks of those forces, so that they are constantly active within our system, and not outside it and above it.

Journalists who are authentically committed in the context of self-management must be, I would say--in a unique way--gratified to have sociopolitical organizations and their leadership bodies involved in this way in the fight against unwholesome things in the media, since this is actually opening up broad areas for those fighters oriented toward self-management, those newsmen in the media, for them to display their progressive commitment.

A Day-to-Day Job for Party Members

[Question] This means, then, that the media are not always mindful enough of things opposed to our social commitments. You often emphasize that primary organizations of the LC [League of Communists] in the media do not react in time to such things. What is the reason for that?

Milan Rakas: Party members in the media must always be aware of the fact that the leading ideological role of organizations of the League of Communists in every one of the media, every editorial office and newspaper publishing house cannot be replaced by anyone either within the media, within the newspaper publishing house, nor outside the media and outside newspaper publishing houses. The constant concern of organizations of the LC to see that editorial policy is conducted in conformity with our basic commitments to socialist self-management and with the basic achievements of our revolution, will also be the best barrier to all mistakes in editorial policy.

The most important thing here is to break down the conception that because we have a large number of members of the LC on editorial staffs of our media the organization of the LC need not be constantly concerned with editorial policy in its meetings. On the contrary, we must develop the conviction that constant analyses of political-ideological expressions of every newsman who is a member of the party in his articles and broadcasts can only advance the everyday commitment of every individual in every one of the media. So, party organizations must inevitably be concerned with editorial policy on a regular basis in every news-gathering organization.

Current practice is for them to be concerned with that policy very rarely or, most frequently, only on an ad hoc basis. We also have cases where a journalist who is a member of the LC is refused credentials for following the proceedings of the Central Committee though the party organization has not previously discussed his mistakes. This kind of thing only confirms the extent to which that kind of party organization does not understand its role in editorial policy.

Encouragement of Ongoing Democratic Dialogue

[Question] It is not easy to write openly and critically. If we take a sharper and more scrupulous and courageous line, unless it is the fruit of that kind of commitment, we could go even to the other extreme--contesting the system or nihilism. Yet avoiding a critical attitude and combativeness results in playing it safe and neutralism. How is one to avoid those traps?

Milan Rakas: No one could if he wanted deny that being a committed and militant newsman on the line of the LC is today one of the most difficult and responsible jobs. It is not possible to be infallible in such a job. And anyone who because of errors which have not resulted from bad intentions "calls for the head" of the journalist, is in the most direct way preventing the development of a militant, committed, socialist and self-managing journalism that is creative. We must state that openly. However, this can also be ascertained very quickly. No large-scale analyses are required. It can be demonstrated with arguments and such cases can be prevented. But we must say that the debates we have been talking about over the last 2 years and especially the last few months, the debates being conducted in political leadership bodies and in sociopolitical organizations, are primarily directed, as far as I know, against things which call into question our basic commitments to socialist self-management.

But it is a good thing for us to be entirely precise concerning those discussions. Recently, frequently with the intention of expressing ourselves as resolutely as possible against attacks on the achievements of our revolution, we have been stressing that no dialogue or discussion is permitted of the basic commitments of our development. However, that incomplete thesis, taken literally, might even be harmful to those fundamental commitments of ours. That is, it is quite certain that all of those fundamental commitments of ours and those achievements of the revolution, such as brotherhood and unity, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, socialist self-management, the policy of nonalignment, represent that which must not ever be called into question. But precisely for the sake of fuller accomplishment of those commitments and on behalf of those achievements we must be altogether precise. What is not permitted is any dialogue or discussion which in its content calls our basic commitments into question. However, discussions and democratic dialogues which represent a creative contribution to the advancement and accomplishment of those commitments we must encourage in our media. I will be still more specific because of the delicacy of this topic.

Against the Statist Shell

When it is a question, say, of the national economies, it is quite certain that today there is a very urgent need for dialogue and discussion of the place and role of the national economies in the development of Yugoslavia's socialist self-management. But that discussion may not be the kind of discussion represented, for example, by the dialogue between Comrade Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo and Vuk Draskovic in the newspaper RAD on 16 October 1981. There Comrade Tempo asserted that the rounded off national economies of the republics represent a line of development that leads toward a breaking up of Yugoslavia. This is untenable, since that kind of dialogue objectively calls into question the equality of the nationalities. What we do need is a dialogue against the confinement of those national economies, against their becoming ossified to form statist shells, but at the same time that dialogue must encourage linkage between the national economies, the pooling of labor and capital, and development of delegate relations regardless of republic borders, beginning with the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] and going all the way to the Federation. We must, then, encourage and develop a creative democratic dialogue, but the kind of dialogue which promotes and speeds up accomplishment of our basic commitments and revolutionary achievements, which means that we must at the same time be resolutely opposed to any dialogue which calls into question those basic commitments and achievements of our revolution.

Americanization of the Film Repertoire

[Question] Recent conversations concerning the media most often mentioned the press. Does that mean that everything is all right with the radio and television, that they are doing good work?

Recently the following remark was made in a meeting of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, and I quote: "Six of our TV centers broadcasting in the Croato-Serbian language showed 329 foreign films in 1980, but only 49 Yugoslav films."

Milan Rakas: We must improve the monitoring and analysis of radio and TV broadcasting. It is not enough to merely conduct a public debate once a year on accomplishment of the program for radio and television over the past year and concerning the program for the coming year. We have already agreed this year in the section debate on programmatic orientations of both radio and television that we must hold more frequent special-topic debates concerning broadcasting, concerning programs or individual series. However, it cannot be said that we have in the past been uncritical toward those media. Clearly we will have to give them still greater attention because of their importance.

As a viewer I think, for example, that having joint evening news programs is an expression of the high degree of exclusiveness of the republic TV centers. By and large those programs are more and more becoming like billboards for information and advertising of events in the region whose TV center is preparing the joint evening news program (except for certain attempts to bring in more than one TV center on a particular topic). And as for the film repertoire, I think that what was said in the Federal Conference does not give the real picture. It would be very interesting to know how many of those foreign films are from the developing countries and nonaligned countries, and how many from the West, or, so that I might be still more specific, mainly from America. It is true that I do not have a numerical breakdown, but again, as a viewer of TV films, I would dare say that the process of Americanization of our television film repertoire is on the upswing. This is an incomprehensible and impermissible attitude toward the cultural values of all nations in the world. This orientation is also most directly contrary to our country's cultural policy. That is why in the Section for the Information System of the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP we concluded in our recent discussion confined to TV broadcasting that we would hold a separate discussion confined to the TV film repertoire and would attempt to help the subjective forces in television in overcoming those shortcomings and indeed difficulties which exist in this area. As far as I am aware, efforts are already being made in television to resolve those problems. Any specific help they get will be welcome.

Never Enough Humor, But ...

[Question] In the discussion of the media questions have also been asked about what is happening with our humor and satire? Do we in general have enough satire, especially with us here in Croatia?

Milan Rakas: There is never enough humor, satire and caricature in a democratic society like ours. And we in the journalistic field often behave as though we are not aware of all the possibilities offered by those forms of expression, as though we forget that a good cartoon, for example, concerning some event may be much stronger than a column. Myself, for example, I prefer to read the feature "Direct" in VJESNIK when it is taken up by a cartoon.

Why is it that we do not have enough humor, satire and cartoons? I personally think that from the standpoint of editorial policy there are two great dangers for humor, satire and cartoons. The first is our tendency as journalists to play it safe and not to be combative. The other danger is that the authors of humor and satire often avoid organized social influence. Not infrequently, then, the result is humor which is not directed against human follies (to which none of us is immune) and the opponents of this socialist society, but it is manifested in attacks on our greatest social values. In that kind of situation intolerant individuals, who exist in every society, including our own, and who are just waiting for a chance to open up debate in the courts on humor, satire and cartoons can come to prominence in such a situation.

It is clear that for all this important and steady creation of a climate among the leading figures in every community, they still support humoristic and satirical expression.

Social Influence

[Question] Delegate assemblies and councils which are supposed to contribute to greater social influence on editorial policy have been in the formative stage in our republic for a long time now. What has been the first experience?

Milan Rakas: The councils in the media and the assemblies of work organizations in the field of information have been operating in our republic on a delegate basis for a year in radio and television and slightly more than half a year in the Vjesnik SOUR [Complex Organization of Associated Labor] (councils with appointed members were previously in effect in Vjesnik). Similar bodies for exerting social influence on a delegate basis have now by and large been formed in the local media organizations, in the opstina and regional newspapers, as well as in local radio stations. The activity of these entities for conveying the influence of society shows that they are very suitable forms of involvement of the Socialist Alliance as a front in creating and carrying out editorial policy in all the media. The experience has been constructive. Though the period has been a short one for any serious assessment, it can be stated confidently that the activity of these public bodies on a delegate basis will eventually create a situation in which no one will be able to behave as though the field of information is his birthright.

Criticism on the One Hand and Praise on the Other

[Question] On one occasion you have proposed that newspapers from the other republics and provinces should have councils formed on a delegate basis in towns outside their area.

Milan Rakas: This idea of the possibility of forming councils and other delegate bodies for editorial policy of the media outside their republic wherever they have influence, wherever they are sold, wherever they are read, wherever they are listened to or watched, is based on reflections on how to strengthen the social accountability of all media throughout the entire area of Yugoslavia. It is quite certain that we cannot allow the present situation in which the media, virtually all of them, aspire to being read, listened to or sold and to have influence throughout the entire area of Yugoslavia, but the personnel who edit them are accountable for the content only to bodies in the places where they are published or where those programs are broadcast. Because of this kind of treatment of social accountability we have cases where the media in certain quarters are being seriously criticized, while at the same time the bodies where they are located are expressing praise of them.

In reflecting on how to prevent such cases from happening, I came to the idea that we ought to initiate through the Federal Conference a proposal that a public body be created on a delegate basis wherever a particular media organization has influence; that body would participate as it were in the overall editorial policy of that media organization. I think this is something that cannot be postponed unless we wish to have the present practice in which every media organization seeks a unified market for the press without limits, but when it comes to responsibility, then the boundaries exist.

Political Figures Should Also Bear Responsibility

[Question] At the 16th Meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia you advocated greater accountability on the part of personnel in sociopolitical leadership bodies for editorial policy, saying that that responsibility should not be borne solely by professional newsmen. What does this mean in practical terms?

Milan Rakas: In speaking about enhancing responsibility for what is published and broadcast, I insisted at the 16th Meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia that the responsibility for editorial policy should not be confined to professional journalists, but that we must fight, especially today when we are undertaking to set up public bodies for editorial policy on a delegate basis, for all factors involved in whatsoever way in editorial policy to have a very high degree of sociopolitical, personal and collective responsibility.

Now, let me be specific. My thought is that members of councils, members of the assembly, in view of the delegate relation, must bear their part of the responsibility for editorial policy. The leaders in sociopolitical leadership bodies, especially those who bear more detailed responsibility as it were for development and monitoring the information system, must bear political accountability in the most concrete way for possible mistakes in this field. In all sincerity, the present situation is far from that. And that is the way it has always been in all crisis situations. As far as I know, for example, after the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium, which was held in 1971, when we had a very serious change of policy in settling accounts with nationalism, newsmen and chief editors lost their positions wholesale in editorial staffs. It was ascertained among other things that those newsmen very often had been tied in their activity to individuals, to leaders, and especially to those individuals in the sociopolitical leadership bodies who are responsible for contacts with the media and directly responsible for their editorial policy. So while professional newsmen, bearing political responsibility, were left unemployed throughout Yugoslavia, it seems that at the same time none of the leaders bore political responsibility for having helped to make the media organization what it was at that time. At least I do not know of any officeholder who has been so described.

The Danger of SIZocracy [excessive influence of self-managing communities of interest]

[Question] On Thursday the Law on the Public Information System was adopted in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia after several years of preparation and debate. What can be expected from that law with respect to advancement of the editorial policy of the media?

Milan Rakas: I would first like to say that that law is in the full sense of the word an example of a government act which by its content opens up broad opportunities for the process of self-management transformation of public information to be speeded up. That is, an act whose enforcement clears the way for self-management. I would even say that this is a kind of legislative long-term program for development of the public information system in our republic. Throughout the entire law there runs the demand for a steady strengthening of society's influence in the editorial policy of all the media. And in my opinion that is the most important feature of that law.

[Question] Does the law foresee certain new forms of social influence in the media?

Milan Rakas: It foresees and establishes a number of social forms which open up a long-term process of socialization of public information. Aside from the assemblies and councils already mentioned, it is significant that the law has foreseen the formation of special bodies for the information system in local communities and in OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor].

[Question] In the public debate there were many dilemmas related to organization through self-managing communities of interest in the field of information.

Milan Rakas: It seems that those discussions of the law and the dilemmas on whether self-managing communities of interest should be set up in the field of public information or not showed that in criticizing the formation of self-managing communities of interest we in general attribute excessively great significance to what is referred to as SIZomania, yet we have not sufficiently taken into account the fact that SIZocracy, the transformation of SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] with large staff services into a form of government parallel to the existing bodies of government, is the greatest danger to the organization of self-management and to our entire system.

That is why we have endeavored, and I think we have succeeded, in the debates of the law to make it clear that the number of SIZ's is no danger at all. These SIZ's do not have large professional nor financial services which could grow to assume power. Their money is in the banks, and the staff services which work for them are tied to certain work organizations. Now that we have managed to clear up that dilemma, we have been coming closer to a solution to open up the optional possibility for self-management organization in the field of public information, but the kind of self-management organization which will not serve the sole purpose of taking in money, but which will signify some form of socialization. This means establishing a development policy and development program for public information which will then serve as the basis for exchange of labor.

However, the law has stated that every sociopolitical community may by a decision of its assembly require the formation of SIZ's and state the manner in which they shall be funded.

Both Collective and Individual Responsibility

[Question] The law also speaks about responsibility, but when the law is involved, then we know what kind of responsibility we are dealing with. In the ranks of journalists, for example, the provision on penalizing newsmen aroused quite a bit of resistance or, to put it better, hesitation.

Milan Rakas: We have set forth provisions according to which all entities participating in the information system are to bear both collective and individual responsibility. In practice this means that it is not just the journalist who will always be responsible. Although I think that the problems of the information system cannot be resolved by virtue of criminal accountability, the provision on criminal accountability, now that it has been adopted, has done well to provide penalties not only for newsmen, but also for other participants in the information system.

Clearly the law is not a magic wand. As I have said, it is a long-range program put in the form of a law. But if all the subjective forces do not constantly wage a battle to carry it out consistently, then it will turn out that we have done a good job of stating our desires and wishes, but they will remain a dead letter.

7045
CSO: 2800/289

KOSOVO INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1214, 9 Feb 82 pp 14-17

[Interview with Mehmet Malici, Kosovo provincial secretary for internal affairs, by Jevrem Damnjanovic and Jovan Antonijevic, in Pristina during February: "We Have Shattered the Top Leadership of the Irredenta"]

[Text] The headquarters of the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Pristina. Fourth floor, Room 60.

"Is the secretary for internal affairs in?"

"He has been here since yesterday," the secretary says.

At that point Mehmet Malici himself appeared at the door. He had heard her words and smiled:

"That is true. We worked until this morning, and I laid down to rest. I have not had time to go home. I have a new job waiting for me. And then this interview with you."

The traces of unslept nights, frequent trips and other meetings are delineated on his face. A burnt-down cigarette is in his hand.

"How are things?" we asked when we had taken seats in his office.

"When he is involved in a big job a man has no time to think about that."

Malici took up his present post on 3 June of last year by decision of the delegates to the Assembly of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. Mustafa Sefedini was first dismissed from the post since the judgment was that the Kosovo service for internal affairs also bore responsibility for the counterrevolutionary events.

Even immediately after the war Malici had occasion to direct the struggle against the enemy of our socialist system. He received a summons from the provincial committee and was told: "You have to set up the OZNA [Department of Internal Security] in Prizren." This is how he recalls those moments:

"'What is OZNA? How does it operate?' I asked. 'You will manage,' they replied. What was I to do: I took 50 soldiers from the 7th Kosovo Brigade and 80 members of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] and told them: 'Now, you are OZNA.' And we put bands on our sleeves saying OZNA. We soon removed them when we saw what sort of tasks lay before us. And then we did get our bearings. Did we ever get our bearings, working on truly difficult tasks."

After OZNA came UDBA [State Security Administration], and the years passed. His work took him from Prizren to Suva Reka and then to Djakovica, Orahovac, Pristina....

He has had to move 24 times because of his job.

"And that little lounge in the building of the provincial secretariat for internal affairs where I often spend the night is like my 25th home. I have a wife, Remzi, a good companion, whom I came to know in the Partizans, and she understands why I often must be away for long periods of time."

He lit a cigarette though he had just put one out.

"I held the position of secretary of the secretariat for internal affairs once before, 28 years ago. And when I was again appointed to that place last summer from my position as president of the Kosovo Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War, my wife said to me after a time: 'Do you remember 1954? Back then our son was born 5 weeks after you took that job. And here again after 5 weeks you got a grandson.' And I said to her: 'And when that happens the third time, we will have a great grandson.' I was joking. This job is exhausting. Especially at my age."

The Demonstrations Were Not Spontaneous

[Question] How do you assess the present security situation in the province?

[Answer] You yourselves have seen how the situation is in Pristina: people are going to work, are going to the stores, the evening promenade is crowded, as are the coffeehouses and movie theaters.... An outside observer gets the impression that life is altogether normal. As a matter of fact, the life of the citizenry has returned to its everyday course. However, we are not even close to the point where as the security service we can "relax." The enemy is not lying low. He is making his voice heard here and there. If not in Pristina, then in some other place. There have been individual attacks on person and property of Serbs and Montenegrins as well as on officials. And even the university students are committing occasional outbursts. Though those are what I would call isolated cases, they make the other citizens uneasy and that is why we are combating them resolutely. It is our estimate that hostile activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism is gradually dying down. Even the writing of slogans is now a rarer thing. Over the last 2 months, for example, we have added only one case of distribution of leaflets containing hostile subject matter. By decisive action we have shattered the top active leadership of the Irredenta. I say that with confidence. The organization which the enemy had has been cut off. Recently we have frustrated its activity almost entirely. And we are well on the way to discovering those who are still operating.

[Question] Eleven months have passed since the first demonstration of nationalists and irredentists in Kosovo. The counterrevolution failed, but, as we see, the situation in Kosovo is not yet what we would like. Ordinary citizens, and they are not alone, are asking: How long will it be like this?

[Answer] Understand that what happened in Kosovo resulted from lengthy preparations. And the counterrevolutionary activity was manifested on a large scale and to a certain extent covered the entire province. It was even manifested in certain places outside Kosovo where Albanians live. That went on for several months. Though, as you say, 11 months have passed, this is still a relatively short period for everything to calm down and become stable. The demonstrations, the boycotting of the flag, the writing of slogans and the distribution of leaflets containing hostile subject matter resulted from an organized illegal effort, though there was also semilegal and indeed even legal activity. This is unambiguously indicated by figures we have obtained in exposing the illegal hostile organizations.

[Question] This confirms, then, the fact that not even the first demonstration on 11 March of last year in Pristina was spontaneous and did not result from the demand of the students to improve conditions for their life and work in their dormitory?

[Answer] Certainly. That demonstration was not because of poor food in the dining hall. Far from it. Like the others which followed, it was planned and organized in advance. We have discovered two groups among the students of the university in Pristina who organized it. They had planned how to carry out demonstrations and how to gather as many students as possible together with propaganda. They also organized the demonstrations on 26 March.

[Question] The public has so far been informed about the exposure of several illegal groups which operated under various names. Did they have ties to one another?

[Answer] We have discovered 33 groups. Some of them sprang up spontaneously, while others belonged to illegal organizations such as the "National Liberation Movement," the "Communist-Marxist-Leninist Party of Albanians in Yugoslavia," the "Red People's Front" and the "Group of Marxists and Leninists of Kosovo." All those groups had similar or the same methods of operation. Their ultimate goal was to disrupt the integrity of the SFRY and annexation of Kosovo by Albania.

[Question] It is also well known that in order to protect the underground operation the enemy operated according to the "troika" system.

[Answer] That came later in what I might call the second phase. In the first nationalistic and irredentist indoctrination was carried out on the basis of propaganda publications which were mainly carried in from Albania and also material prepared on that basis here in Kosovo. In that effort like-minded people, enemies of our country, established ties, and certain honest citizens were also led astray. When the hostile groups achieved this, they issued instructions for illegal operation according to the "troika" system, and these troikas [groups of three] did not know one another, so that the organization was preserved if someone was detected. They introduced conspiratorial operation in the sense that they gave their members underground names, and they even gave pseudonyms to certain towns in Kosovo so as not to reveal their plans.

[Question] Were these groups very large?

[Answer] We have so far identified more than 350 persons in them. Though the groups have resounding titles, and one might get the impression that these were large organizations, they had between 4 and 70 members. Some were well organized, they had their own bylaws and operational program, reproduced propaganda material, and their members paid dues, others were not. Aside from propaganda and organizing demonstrations, however, their plans also foresaw terrorist actions, and they were even plotting preparation of an armed uprising.

Enver Hoxha in a Plastic Drum

[Question] Tell us something about the operation of the "Group of Marxist-Leninists of Kosovo."

[Answer] We discovered it recently. It was fairly large. It had its own "committee" and was tied up with hostile circles abroad. We have discovered eight of their bases, which had 13 underground shelters. In them they kept hostile propaganda material, mainly from Albania, but also the material which they themselves had prepared. Actually they referred to them as bases, but they were far from what the term implies. The shelters were holes dug in the ground near settlements; in them they would hide what they were afraid might be discovered, since we were on their trail. Only two of the shelters were somewhat better made, and they contained mimeograph machines for copying propaganda material.

[Question] What was found in all?

[Answer] We found six typewriters, five electric mimeograph machines and one operated by hand, two rifles, six pistols and two walkie-talkie radios. One mimeograph machine was of foreign manufacture and probably brought in from abroad. We also found rubber gloves which the members of this illegal group wore in distributing leaflets so as not to leave fingerprints on the paper and also a wig which they used for disguise. There were also one megaphone and many books from Albania as well as cassettes containing recordings of Enver Hoxha's speeches. We found pictures of Enver Hoxha and Stalin along with propaganda material in plastic drums in which sauerkraut is usually made. It is interesting that aside from the books about Stalin, Enver Hoxha and the Albanian party, the books also included the works of Marx and Lenin. This illegal hostile group, made up mainly of intellectuals, used the works of Marx and

Lenin in that they would extract certain sentences and give them opposite meanings.

[Question] Where was this group operating?

[Answer] It began its hostile activity in 1978 in Pristina and certain other towns in Kosovo and then expanded to Skopje, Gostivar, Tetovo and Presevo. It endeavored to create resentment in the Albanian population so that it could then organize demonstrations, strikes and boycotts.... Its goal was for Kosovo to acquire the status of a republic and then to take advantage of a "given moment for Kosovo to be annexed to Albania."

[Question] Where are the roots of irredentism in Kosovo?

[Answer] The roots are deep and it is difficult to state in brief where they all lead. It is a fact, for instance, that the Italian fascists, whose aims were suited by division in the Balkans, encouraged enmity toward the non-Albanian population and revived the idea of Great Albania which would include not only Kosovo, but also certain other areas of Yugoslavia. This was in fact the ideological foundation of the Ballist groups.

Chauvinism Is Not Far From Irredentism

It is well known that chauvinism is not far from irredentism. And the errors committed in Kosovo up to the Fourth Plenum actually played in the hands of Albanian chauvinism. Then, as is well known, things even went so far that Albanians were even told which songs they could sing at weddings. They actually had to submit a list of those songs for approval. Even songs of romantic subject matter were banned. All this was supposedly done to suppress Albanian nationalism, whereas actually it was inspired by things precisely like this and worse which were done. It also played in the hands of the chauvinists to infringe the right to the flag and many other things.... The enemy knew how to take advantage of that both then and later.

Everything that had burdened the situation and relations in Kosovo was eliminated at the Fourth Plenum. And then the wave of national romanticism began. It was looked upon as a passing and harmless phenomenon. At the same time caution was relaxed toward the enemy, who saw the ardent nationalists as persons of like mind. The proper response was not given to the outbursts of individuals, and indeed were humored. For instance, 58 nationalists were discovered, but only 16 were convicted.... Interethnic relations were disrupted. A sense of community was not built, but indeed was dismantled. It even went so far as the opening of departments in day nurseries for Albanian children which were separate from those for Serbian and Montenegrin children. The separation began at an early age.

The hostile activity, which had its roots in the remnants of counterrevolutionary elements after the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, was continuous. It was manifested in more pronounced form during 1963 and 1964, and then in 1968, then 1973 and 1974 and right up until the counterrevolutionary demonstrations.

[Question] How is it that a portion of the nationalists yearn for the political system of Enver Hoxha's Albania?

[Answer] Anyone who uses his own eyes easily sees that even underdeveloped Kosovo (if compared with certain more advanced regions of Yugoslavia) is El Dorado, so to speak, compared to Albania. What has been done here from the Liberation to the present is amazing not only for the people who live here, but also those who come from outside and remember the way Kosovo was before the war. Kosovo cannot be compared with Albania, not only with respect to economic development and people's standard of living, but also with respect to human freedoms. But the blinded nationalists do not want to see this. We have a recent case like this: a peasant, an Albanian, an honorable workingman, has a little bit of land, a tractor, has built himself a house, and is living well. But his daughter, a schoolgirl who has been indoctrinated with nationalism, tells him: "You will not have it that way long. Enver will take away both your land and tractor. You will not live like a rich peasant." It takes a while to rid ideas like those of this girl of the consciousness of certain young people who, without even being aware of it, have fallen under the influence of an enemy who is not reconciling himself to our sociopolitical and economic system. But the overwhelming majority of Albanians have good sense. When Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, was here, he said: "Let's go to some village, to some Albanian house to talk with the people." We went off to a village near Djakovica and went into a house. They received us well and treated us like guests. The host was over 80. During the conversation Herljevic jested: "Would you go to Albania to live?" The peasant shook his head: "Comrade General, why would I do that. I am all right here. Enver would take everything away from me. A peasant cannot have a cow or even a sheep over there. And I earned 16 million dinars just on sugar beets."

[Question] It is well known that the enemy particularly aimed its propaganda at young people....

[Answer] Yes. After the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in April and May and certain outbreaks during the summer the enemy's orientation was to use the beginning of the school year to resume broader actions. As is well known, he was unsuccessful in this. Thanks first of all to the commitment of party members, government agencies, law enforcement agencies and judicial authorities, there has been less and less room left for his activity. Since September there have been only two attempts at demonstrations, and one case last month when schoolchildren took part in demonstrations in Titova Mitrovica. The internal enemy even announced 46 demonstrations, and the emigre community 14. But these remained only their mere wishes and intentions.

[Question] It is obvious that there were many young people led astray.

[Answer] Certainly. There have even been children among the 320 people we have caught writing slogans. One 11-year-old boy cried and implored us not to tell his parents what he had done. When I thought about it a bit, what does this boy really know about what Marxism and what a republic or the slogan "Kosovo a republic" mean? Yet we do inform the parents. We feel that the family, and not just the school, is very important in bringing up the children. When they hear what has happened, the parents are confused and ashamed. It is not easy for them: the child has hurt their sense of pride. But at the same time they will certainly pay more attention to their child in the future.

Restoring Lost Confidence

[Question] To return to interethnic relations. How do you evaluate them at the present moment?

[Answer] They were quite strained and chilly after the hostile demonstrations in certain communities. Time will be needed to restore mutual confidence. Certainly this will depend on complete normalization of the situation in Kosovo, that is, on when the outbreaks cease. I must also say, however, that there is also ethnic oversensitivity and stormy reaction even to things which in other communities would not constitute an expression of Albanian or Serb nationalism. Here at times we go to such extremes as to proclaim pickpockets to be nationalist. If an Albanian steals from an Albanian, no one pays any attention. But if an Albanian steals from a Serb, then that is another matter. But the pickpocket is only interested in the money, no matter whose. But, if this is not a good example, it is a fact that in this community we have to pay more attention to the behavior of Albanians because they are in the majority. All honest Albanians today have to protect the Serbs out of pride, since the Serbs are in the minority. For instance, in the village Mulici near Djakovica someone set fire to a Serb's hay while he was attending the wedding of an Albanian who was an intimate family friend. Most of the people in that village are Albanians, and what happened to the Serbian household was a blow to the pride of all. They will reimburse the man for the loss, but what happened was a severe blow to them....

Or a case in the village Klina: the night before last a peasant, a Serb, was robbed of two oxen from his barn. Had an Albanian robbed an Albanian, I would not get excited nor send out investigators in a rush to find the offender as soon as possible: they would simply do what is done in normal situations. However, I asked them to discover the thief as quick as possible and find those two oxen as best they know how, and if they need help, I will send it to them. They said that that was not necessary and that they were already on the right track. I want this solved as soon as possible, since cases like that create uncertainty in the peasants. The stealing of automobiles in the city is another matter. This might be called commonplace, and here less attention is paid to the nationality of the thief.

[Question] During our visit in Kosovo we have gotten the impression that many Albanians, because of everything that has happened, though they are not nationalists, but are in favor of brotherhood and unity, still harbor a sense of guilt for everything that has happened....

[Answer] That is an accurate observation. I have also gotten that impression in talking with people. Some of them tell me: "Even if someone were driving us, we would not follow Enver Hoxha. Why, then, is everyone attacking us?" Though the criticism and condemnation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism coming from other quarters and also from Kosovo do not apply to all Albanians, reactions of this kind and this kind of expression of personal sentiment are Kosovo's present reality. Why is it like that? Perhaps because negative examples from Kosovo are mostly given in the press and the other media. But it is not all that black; in Djakovica, for example, Albanians constitute almost 97 percent of the population, but in the enterprise Emin Duraku, which has a work force of more than 2,000, 36 percent of the workers are of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality.

The People Are Helping the Police

[Question] Tell us something about collaboration between the security service and the people in breaking up the counterrevolutionary activity of the enemy?

[Answer] As you know, the conception of our security service is such that it relies on the people. That is why almost all the results of this service are a joint achievement. There was cooperation with the people even during the demonstrations. In Prizren 25 March was market day, and the enemy counted on the support of the population, assuming that they would join in large numbers. A small group of policemen intervened against the demonstrators, but thanks to the support and direct aid of the population the demonstrators were cut off in a short time, and most were arrested.

[Question] What sort of cooperation is there with the joint police units?

[Answer] These units came to Kosovo on our invitation. Their role is more than valuable. After all, because of the erroneous policy in the previous period the police in Kosovo had been reduced to a smaller number than was necessary even in normal times. Somehow everything had been allowed to slide in Kosovo. When we compare the number of policemen to the size of the population, we see that there are many more of them in other parts of the country than here. Police stations had been closed down, some areas in the province had been left uncovered, and this had a bad effect during the enemy's first onset. In addition, due attention had not been paid to personnel either of agencies for internal affairs or to the police. The supply of up-to-date equipment was also neglected. For all these reasons we more than welcomed the arrival of the joint units and also the professional and technical assistance from the republics and the Province of Vojvodina. We are now recruiting young people for the Kosovo police. We have already taken some of them into the service who have successfully completed the course. We will keep the joint units in the province until we have fully developed our own capability.

Now that I am speaking of the joint units, I would like to emphasize that in addition to performing tasks on the basis of the powers they obtained, they quickly developed acquaintances and friendship with the people here and have been helping them in their everyday life. If someone gets sick, say, and the doctor is far away, the policemen provide help immediately and call for emergency medical service or carry the patient in their own vehicle. Recently their speedy action saved the life of an old Albanian man in the vicinity of Glogovac. The people have accepted the policemen from the other republics and Vojvodina as their own and invite them for coffee, tea or lunch. This is typical even in villages where almost 100 percent of the population is Albanian. And this is a slap in the face to the enemy.

[Question] Have there been difficulties in replenishing the personnel of the Kosovo security service?

[Answer] During the differentiation, which is under way, we are eliminating from this service all those who showed hesitation and also those who have displayed idleness or slowness in their work. We are also saying farewell to people who are honest and who can perform other functions exceptionally well, but who, if I might so put it, came into our service by accident.

[Question] Now that we are on this topic, why is it that Janko Jankovic, secretary of the secretariat for internal affairs in Pec, was recently discharged?

[Answer] Let us be clear at the outset: he was not discharged because he had been on the side of the counterrevolution or had done something wrong. He is both a good man and a good communist, but he will do better work in some other job. In the secretariat for internal affairs there are specific tasks which under normal conditions can be performed more easily than in a complicated situation such as we have today.

[Question] What sort of other changes have there been aside from personnel?

[Answer] You see, when it is a question of the police, professional and ideological work are also very important. And it has been neglected here in Kosovo, which has not been the case in other communities in the country. It was lacking in our case, and people relaxed, became lulled in a false security that everything was fine and as it should be. In the coming period we will be paying particular attention to ideological work.

The Unified Security Service

[Question] Harsh criticism has been expressed about the previous poor cooperation between the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs and its republic counterpart in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and indeed even with its federal counterpart. How will this be improved?

[Answer] You know, everything has been put upside down. Not only in the relationship between the province and the republics and Vojvodina, but also within Kosovo itself. A unified provincial police did not exist here, but rather there were opstina police departments. Each opstina set up a service in its own jurisdiction, and some of them were better in terms of personnel and some not so good. Often policemen were appointed to positions in the town where they were born. Because of familiarity this detracted from their effectiveness. Put simply, some of them looked the other way when things happened in their community. That, of course, cannot continue. There will also be uniform personnel policy and financing. We will call for changes and legislation to that effect. In that way we will not separate the security service from the opstinas. We will be collaborating with them, and we will be informing the delegates in the assembly regularly concerning the work of our service.

[Question] How will relations develop in the future within SR Serbia and with the services for internal affairs in the other republics?

[Answer] I would first like to emphasize that security is indivisible. For example, we cannot have one enemy for Macedonia and one for Serbia.... It is absurd to make divisions of that kind. Collaboration among security services must be complete; otherwise there is no success. As a party member I cannot conceive that it could be otherwise.

[Question] Has legislation been an obstacle to cooperation?

[Answer] The legislation, though it varied from one province or republic to another, has not been an obstacle to collaboration. Whenever something failed, it was people and not paper that were behind it. And when we are talking about the security of a region of our country, then the thing to do is not to look at the legislation in effect, but to operate effectively. I would like to emphasize that the overall results of the security service in suppressing the counterrevolution in Kosovo are the fruit of joint work by members of the security service of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, the other socialist republics and SAP Vojvodina, especially the federal secretariat and Serbian Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and also security agencies of the Yugoslav People's Army.

[Question] It is probably difficult to answer this question, but it is an inevitable one: When can we expect the situation in Kosovo to become completely normal?

[Answer] Complete normalization of conditions does not depend solely on us, that is, the services for internal affairs. That is clear. But I am convinced that consistent performance of the tasks that follow from the platform of the LCY Central Committee concerning Kosovo, and they pertain to all the socialist forces, will stabilize the situation and reestablish good relations among members of the different nationalities who live here. It is not easy to achieve that, but we have after all coped in more difficult days and achieved victory.

[Question] And finally, Comrade Malici, thank you for the interview. It is customary to ask whether you would like to read over the article we write for your approval?

[Answer] That is not necessary. I trust people. It is a question of your honor to write according to the way our conversation has gone.

7045
CSO: 2800/286

PROBLEM OF AGING POPULATION ANALYZED

Belgrade KOMUNA in Serbo-Croatian No 1, Jan 82 pp 44-47

[Article by Dr Zarko Vukovic]

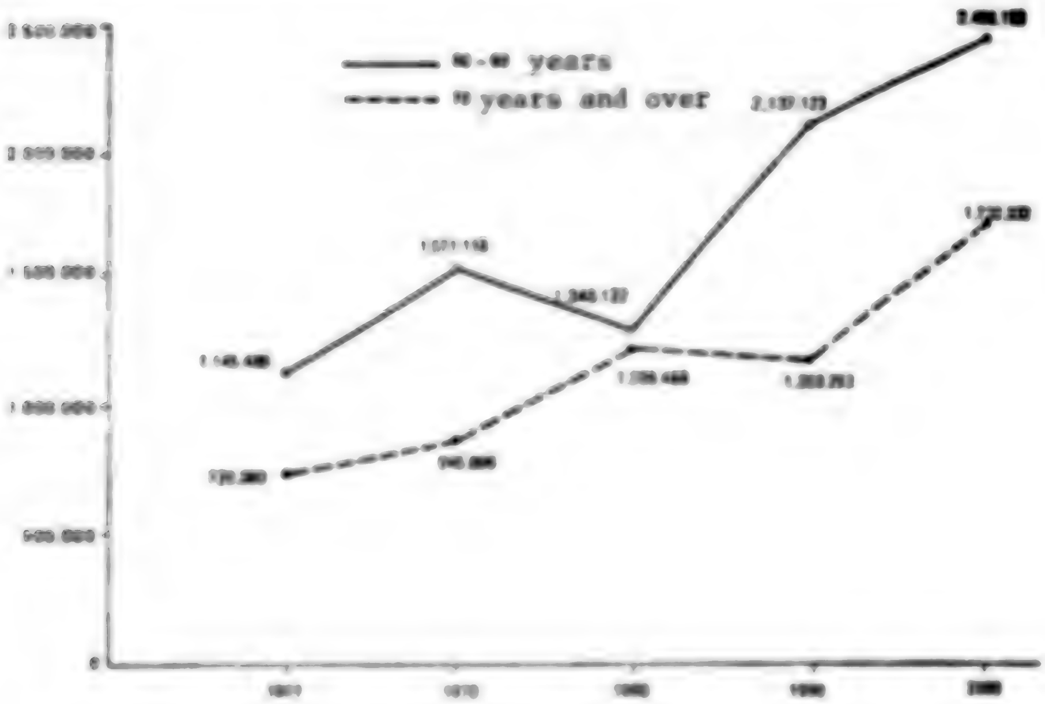
[Text] Our country's population is getting older and older, and there are more and more elderly persons in advanced old age. The time has come when these facts can no longer be ignored, and no country can allow these phenomena to develop on their own because of the serious implications which aging of the population has in the areas of health care, social welfare and the economy. The very fact that World Health Day in 1982 was dedicated to the health of the elderly and that the World Conference on Aging was called in 1982 confirms the supposition of the serious consequences which can be anticipated if due attention is not paid to these questions.

Protection of the welfare of elderly inhabitants is becoming a very important task for all those concerned with health care and social welfare. At the same time, the welfare functions of the community toward the elderly are increasing, since there also is an increase in the number of chronically ill and incapacitated persons over age 60. This increase in the number of the chronically ill will no longer depend on the various health care measures taken, since a large number of people will become dependent upon the aid of others solely because of their advanced age. There is an increase in the amount of hospital treatment being given to the elderly, and the pressure on hospitals will increase to such an extent that the available capacity will not be sufficient to treat all the elderly unless certain forms of treatment outside hospitals are developed, at-home treatment and care of the elderly first of all.

Demographic Characteristics of the Aging Processes in Our Country's Population

The aging process in our country's population manifested itself in the years between the wars, but aging became more intensive in the sixties. If we examine the characteristics of the aging process in the population on the basis of postwar population censuses, we see that the number of inhabitants over age 60 was twice as great in 1981 as it was when the population census was taken in 1948. During the postwar years certain characteristics have manifested themselves concerning the aging of the population, but we shall mention only two of them here. First of all, there is the fact that there are more men than women among the elderly. The age groups of men dwindle with increasing age, and the fact that there are 300,000 more women than men shows that advanced age is more prevalent among women. The second characteristic of the aging process is that the number of inhabitants over age 69 is gradually increasing; in 1981 (estimated) they were approximately equal to the number of younger elderly people between the ages of 60 and 69 (1.34 million inhabitants between the ages of 60 and 69, as compared to the 1.286 million people over age 69). As shown in Graph 1, it is evident that the number of elderly people (over age 69) will be dropping in the coming period, so that the process of aging in the population will enter its "normal" phase toward the end of our millennium.

Graph 1. Aging of the Yugoslav Population,
Number of Persons Between the Ages of 60 and 69 and Over Age 69*



---

* Low birth rate variant.

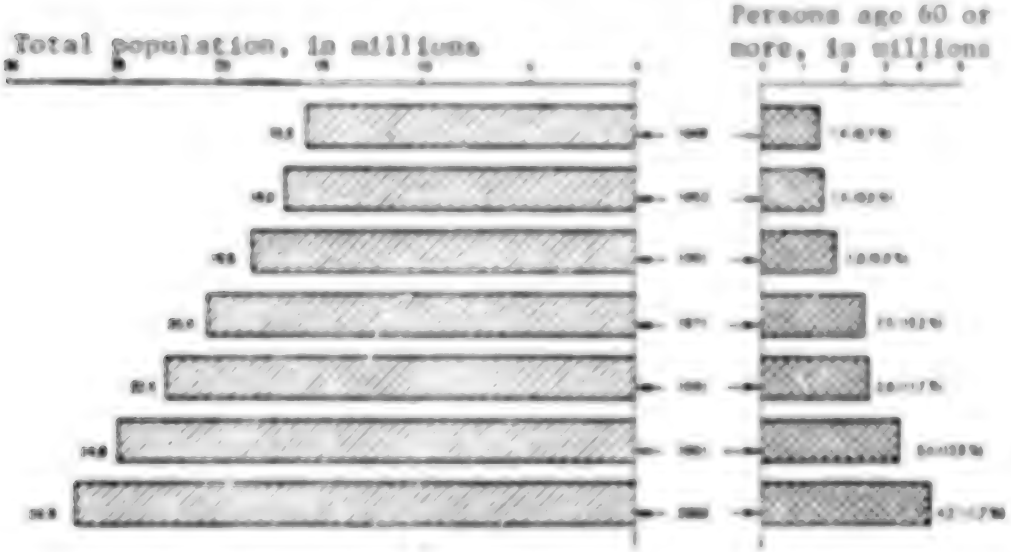
Source: Projection of the Center for Demographic Research.

International Figures on the Aging of the Population

So that we might show the pattern of the aging processes in our country's population more fully, we have made certain comparisons with other countries in the view that today we need broader assessments of the aging processes and that we cannot be fully informed without more comprehensive data.

The rate of the aging of the population is shown in Table 2, and it indicates our country's position in a comparison with certain other countries. We note that the rate of aging of our country's population is high and that it approximates the aging rate of Japan's population, taking into account the commencement of aging and attainment of a 12-percent share of the elderly population in the total population. The growth rate of the elderly population (rate of aging) must be taken as an increase in the size of the elderly population, but at the same time one must note in that increase an increase in the number of those elderly people who will require more and more protection, treatment and care, especially since at the same time there is a process taking place whereby family ties are becoming weaker and the family's share in protecting the elderly is diminishing. In this way it is possible to foresee the scope of possible protection, since today we know the number of elderly people and how many of them there will be at the end of this century, since these figures are accessible to us.

Graph 2. Total Population and Absolute and Proportional Representation of People Age 60 or Older in Yugoslavia



Note: The population is given according to the Yugoslav population census for 1948, 1953, 1961 and 1971, and in 1981, 1991 and the year 2000 it is given according to the projection of the Center for Demographic Research.

Table 3 shows us the "dependency index" of the elderly population, which, it is true, tells us that we will reach the level of dependency somewhat later than this has occurred in other countries, but we should bear in mind that this level was achieved faster than in other countries.

Age and Chronic Illnesses--An Increase in the Volume of Medical Treatment

Age and the chronic illnesses which accompany it, with all the consequences, though old age and chronic illness need not be synonyms, bring about an ever greater degree of dependency. In the context of all this the number of seriously ill and dependent persons will increase regardless of medical measures, and it can be expected that the number of seriously ill people and the number in the terminal stage of illness will even increase unless we have better and better methods of medical treatment.

Table 1. Age-Specific Composition of the Yugoslav Population, absolute size of the age group and its proportion of the total given as the number of its members per 1,000 inhabitants*

	0—19	20—39	40—59	60 +	TOTAL
1948	6.854.542 434,5	4.435.833 281,3	3.115.887 197,6	1.365.005 86,6	15.771.267 1000‰
1953	6.917.462 408,5	4.976.198 293,8	3.535.476 208,8	1.506.324 88.9	16.935.460 1000‰
1961	7.148.921 385,8	6.032.957 325,5	3.535.476 190,0	1.829.319 98,7	18.531.975 1000‰
1971	7.542.664 366,9	6.182.722 300,8	4.312.126 209,8	2.517.014 122,5	20.554.526 1000‰
1981*	7.381.743 328,2	6.873.488 305,6	5.608.797 249,4	2.626.610 116,8	22.490.638 1000‰
1991	8.194.994 330,0	7.396.979 297,9	5.795.373 233,4	3.445.982 138,8	24.833.328 1000‰
2000	8.781.537 328,1	7.375.055 275,5	6.400.025 239.4	4.200.515 156,9	26.756.132 1000‰

---

* The figures for 1948, 1953, 1961 and 1971 are according to the population censuses; for 1981, 1991 and the year 2000 they were taken from the projection of the Center for Demographic Research.

Table 2. International Figures on the Aging Rate of the Population of Certain Countries

Country	Years in Which Population Age 65 or Over Reached Percentage Below 5%	12%	Length of Interval Between Attainment of 5% and 12%
Japan	1950	1995	45 years
France	1790	1960	170 years
West Germany	1890	1965	75 years
Sweden	1855	1960	105 years
Great Britain	1905	1965	55 years
Yugoslavia	1931* 5.3%	2000** 11.8%	70 years
Serbia proper	--	1996 (12.0%)	65 years
Croatia	--	2000 (12.2%)	69 years
Slovenia	--	1999 (12.3%)	68 years

---

* According to the 1931 Population Census.

** According to the projection of the Yugoslav population 1970-2000 (low birth rate variant).

Table 3. Dependency Index of the Elderly Population, Ratio of the Number of Inhabitants Age 65 and Over to Young Age Groups in Certain Countries of the World and Yugoslavia, SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, SR Croatia and SR Slovenia

Country	Dependency Index of Elderly Population (number of persons age 65 and over per 100 persons between ages of 15 and 64) 1930	1950	1971	2000
France	13.8	17.7	22.6	--
Great Britain	10.8	16.2	21.6	--
Sweden	13.9	15.6	21.8	--
West Germany	10.6	13.8	10.7	--
United States	8.3	12.5	16.5	--
Italy		12.1	16.5	--
Canada	8.9	12.5	11.4	--
Holland	9.8	12.3	16.5	--
Czechoslovakia	9.8	11.3	19.1	--
Yugoslavia	8.8*	9.4*	12.2*	17.5**
SR Serbia		9.4	14.6	19.5
SR Croatia		10.6	14.5	21.0
SR Slovenia		11.7	15.0	18.7

---

* According to the population censuses in 1931, 1953 and 1971.

** According to the projection of the Center for Demographic Research for the year 2000.

Table 4. Rate of Hospitalization of Persons Over Age 60 in SR Slovenia

	Patients Between Age				Total, age	
	60 and 69		70 and Over		60 and over	
Year	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*
1961	13,426	12,265	8,020	10,552	21,482	11,159
1970	24,716	15,687	16,674	17,668	41,390	16,429
1980	21,741	19,741	31,533	25,230	53,274	22,659

---

* The rate per 100,000 inhabitants.

The growth of the volume of medical treatment is manifested most strongly in the hospitals, on which the greatest pressure is exerted for treatment of elderly and chronically ill patients. As matters stand today, a major portion of hospital capacity might be used to treat the elderly. This is also shown by the fact that most of the increase in the total volume of hospital treatment occurs because of the increase in the hospitalization rate of elderly patients.

In order to document this we used figures on hospital treatment in Slovenia, since those were the only figures available to us that went right up to 1980.

It is evident from Table 4 that the number of elderly patients treated in hospitals doubled over this period and that the hospitalization rate of persons over age 70 is rising.

As for hospital treatment of elderly inhabitants, we can expect the number of cases of their treatment in hospitals to increase more and more. This is indicated to us by the figures which show that accessibility of hospital treatment is not equal for the entire population and that there are large differences between the urban and rural population. Differences with respect to hospital treatment exist even between the urban and suburban areas; that is, the number of persons treated from the urban area proper is between two- and threefold higher than for the greater urban area. As for the rural population, we note a much higher representation of men receiving hospital treatment than women in the group over age 60.

All of this indicates to us that there are large reservoirs whose "emptying" in coming years will increase pressure for medical treatment by the population over age 60 and that there will be a need to take appropriate measures to cope with the larger requirements and needs.

Certain possibilities can be examined, and we will indicate them here without claiming that they are mandatory or must be implemented. This is only an attempt to mitigate the situation which can be expected in coming years with respect to hospital treatment of elderly citizens.

Institutions for Rehabilitation and Protection of the Elderly

We see one possibility for more effective handling of the difficulties of protecting the elderly in use of the facilities of rehabilitation centers. Up to now use of these facilities has not come into consideration, since in the past rehabilitation was oriented toward the more productive and younger age groups. We have that kind of situation even today, as shown by an analysis of cases of treatment in a small institution for rehabilitation in Serbia proper (Table 5).

The figures show compellingly that more than 50 percent of the patients undergoing rehabilitation were under age 50, and those under age 60 represented more than 80 percent.

In the future we can expect that rehabilitation will be oriented toward the elderly and aimed at maintaining the maximum possible level of functional abilities and thereby the possibility for living an independent life. We can thus expect a larger coverage of the elderly in institutions for rehabilitation, all of which could help to mitigate the crisis with respect to protection of the elderly.

Homes for the Aged and Retired People in Comprehensive Protection of the Elderly

Homes for the aged and homes for retired people have a large role in protecting the elderly, but their role has not been fully examined up to now. This can indeed be seen from the figures which show us (Table 4) a large lag in construction of the facilities of these institutions except in SR Croatia and Slovenia. Nor has there so far been an examination of the role of these institutions in the health care of the elderly, which explains the fact that these institutions are outside the health care system and are used only as a "asylum" for the chronically ill.

However, recently there has been a marked trend toward construction of luxury facilities which can be referred to as homes for the elderly and retired people, which must not be tolerated in the future. The building of boarding institutions for the elderly and retired people has been abandoned in the world, since the costs are very high, and institutions are now being built which would provide care to the elderly and the chronically ill who cannot be otherwise protected, either in the case of a sick person or an elderly person with no one to care for him. It will become evident in coming years that we need homes to care for the elderly, along with a larger participation of the health care system, which will not be able to stand aloof from these institutions any longer. We do not need hotels and boarding homes for the elderly, whose construction shows that we have not fully examined the severity of the situation brought about by the intensive aging of the population.

Table 5. Patients Undergoing Rehabilitation in an Institution for Rehabilitation in 1980

Patients Under Age 50	Patients Between Ages 50 and 59	Patients Between Ages 60 and 69	Patients Age 70 and Over
508	279	100	92

Old Age and Retirement

We mention the importance of retirement here only to point out the extent to which these two questions are related to one another. Retirement policy and the level of retirement benefits have a decisive impact on the fate of the elderly, and this can especially be said of the influence which can be exerted by the staff services of self-managing communities of interest for old-age and disability insurance. In view of the ever greater number of retired people in our country, so that we are indeed gradually becoming a country of retired people, it is becoming more and more obvious that the function of SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] for old-age insurance cannot be reduced merely to the payment of pensions and the financing of "hotels" for retired people, while the actual protection of the elderly and retired persons in need of social welfare and health care remains outside the scope of old-age and disability insurance.

The aging of our country's population, which is manifested in a magnitude which is requiring ever greater participation of the community in the social concern for the elderly, will in coming years have ever more marked implications in the social and economic domains. This applies above all to health care because of the increase in the volume of medical treatment in all forms of health care and especially with respect to hospital treatment. Thus the health care of the elderly will in the coming period become one of the most important tasks, if not the most important task for all those concerned with health care and social welfare.

Health care and social welfare have not up to now been adapted to the needs of the elderly, and certain transformations will have to be made so that health care and social welfare are made more accessible and more comprehensive. Certain examples have been given which pertain to institutions for rehabilitation and homes for the aged and retired people. Particular emphasis is put on the need to develop forms of health care outside the hospital, at-home treatment and care of the ill first of all, which is an indispensable measure in overall health care and social welfare of the elderly.

Since Health Day, 7 April, has been dedicated to protecting the health of the elderly, and since the World Conference on Aging has been called and will be held in Vienna from 26 July to 2 August 1982, we can expect that during 1982 certain needs of the elderly will be given greater importance than up to now, building on everything that has been done to date, above all on full health care for all citizens over age 65, which has great importance to improvement of social concern about the elderly.

7045
CSO: 2800/285 END

END OF
FICHE
DATE FILMED

April 1, 1982